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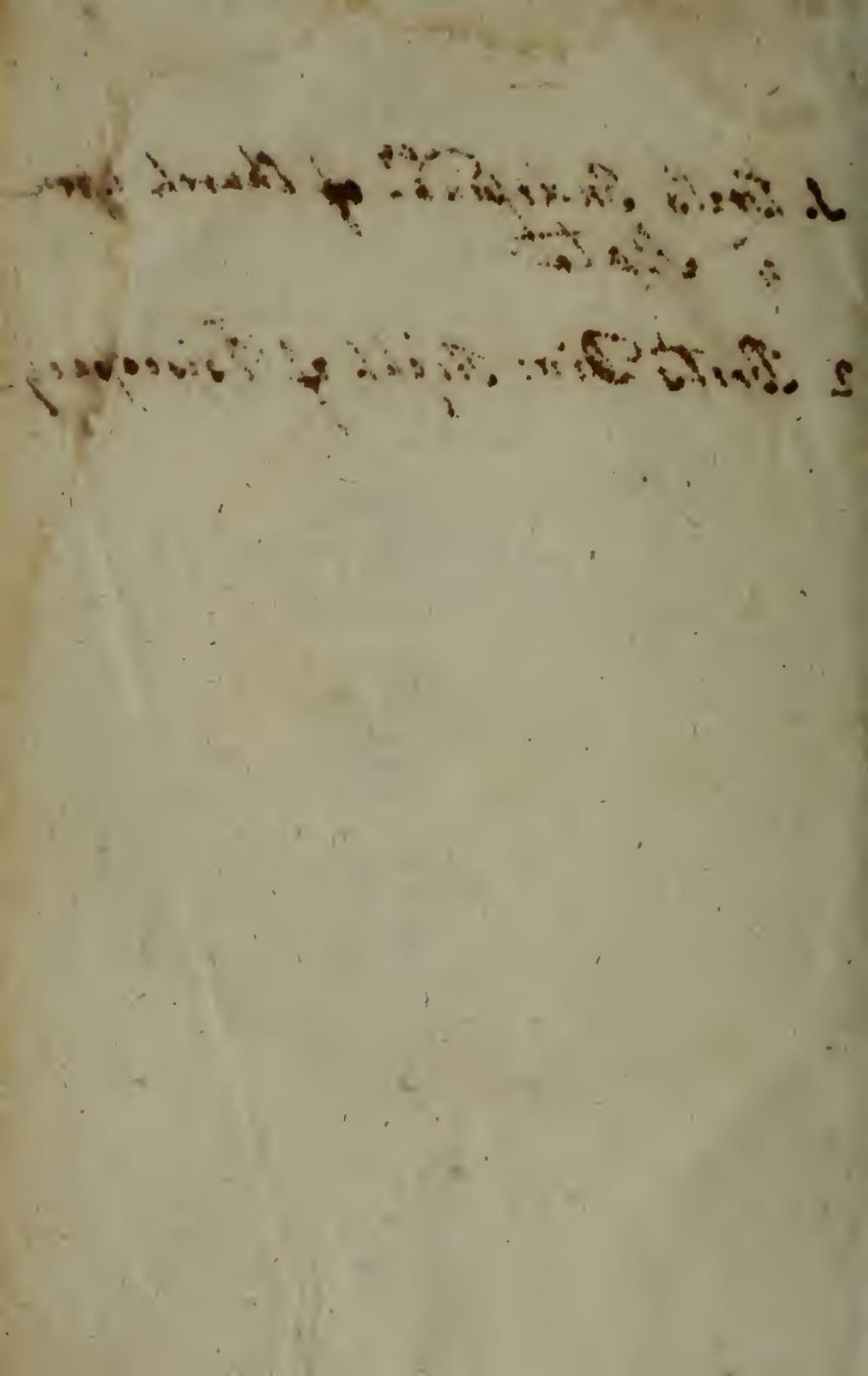
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1. Brits Independ^{ce} of Church upon
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2. Brits Div: Right of Episcopacy.

2 Work in hand



THE
INDEPENDENCE
OF THE
CHURCH
UPON THE
STATE.
As to its Pure
Spiritual Power
Proved from
The HOLY SCRIPTURES, and
Writings of the Primitive Fathers.
With ANSWERS to the most Material
OBJECTIONS.

By THOMAS BRETT, LL.D.

As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. S. John xx. 21.

Edw^d. LONDON: Peck
Printed for HENRY CLEMENTS, at the
Half-Moon in S. Paul's-Church-yard. 1717.

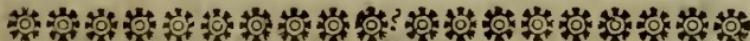
• E R R A T A .

in, Line 2. for Gal. vii. read Gal. vi. Pag. 3. Lin. 30. read Word. Pag. 12. Lin. 14. after Christ put a Colon. Lin. 1. for Rom. xiii. read Rom. xii. Pag. 27. Lin. 1. Pag. 28. Lin. 29. after did, add not. Pag. 31. Lin. 26. Pag. 34. Lin. 7. for it, read they. Pag. 37. Lin. 23. for Pag. 40. Lin. 25. read together. Pag. 48. Lin. 9. read Ibid. Lin. 32. for nominate, read nominates. Pag. 51. Marg. Account of Church-Government. Pag. 60. Lin. 22. for delegated. Pag. 62. Lin. 5. after it put a Colon. Pag. 64. or Office put a Comma. Ibid. Lin. ult. for to, read or. Pag. 65. after Men put a Comma. Ibid. Lin. 30. for may, read might. Marg. for Cor. xiv. read Cor. iv. Pag. 75. Lin. 4. for just, t. Ibid. Marg. for Chron. xxviii. read Chron. xxvii. Pag. 77. le that. Pag. 92. Lin. 14. for thy, read they. Pag. 102. Lin. 9. rea separation. Pag. 104. Lin. 9. dele the. Pag. 110. Lin. 6. for per swaded, read persuaded. Pag. 111. Lin. 17. after Person put a Note of Interrogation. Ibid. Lin. 18. after Fault put a full Stop.

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T H E

THE
INTRODUCTION.

¶ I.



OME Time since, I wrote a *Vindication* of myself from the Charge of Popery, cast upon me very unjustly by some of the News-Writers ; and tho'

I see no Occasion to add any thing more in my own *Vindication* against that groundless Asper-sion, having there so fully renounced every Article of the *Romish* Creed, and sufficiently declar'd my just Abhorrence of the many Corruptions in that Church ; and tho' I do not know that any one has since pretended to renew that false Ca-lumny against me, yet I think it may be proper to say something more with regard to the Doctrines I have there also vindicated : Which being ancient Doctrines of the Church, and to which the Practice of the truly Primitive, Catho-lick and Apostolick Church was conform and agreeable, cannot be too frequently inculcated into the Minds of the People, in order to restore the like Practice in the present Age. And those who have opposed these Doctrines as *Popish* or

savouring of Popery, according to the Modern Phrase, do not consider what Service they do to Popery by such Suggestions: For if the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church be Popery, then is Popery the true Religion; because, (a) as Tertullian says, *That is Truth which is first: That is false which is after.* (b) *That is the Truer which is former; that is the former which is from the Beginning; that is from the Beginning which is from the Apostles.* Agreeable to that of the Prophet, (c) *Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the Ways, and see, and ask for the OLD Paths, where is the good Way, and walk therein, and ye shall find Rest for your Souls.* If therefore Popery be the Old Path, if it be from the Beginning, if it be from the Apostles, then is it the true Christianity, and not a most corrupt Religion, as we have held it to be ever since the Reformation. We should then, for this Reason, take great Care not to give the Name of Popery to that which is Primitive (forasmuch as what is truly Primitive is and must be the Truth, whereas by Popery we understand Corruption and Error) lest we give great Advantage to the Emissaries of Rome, who having proved some Doctrines, called Popish, to be indeed Ancient,

(a) *Id est verum quodcunque primum: Id est adulterum quodcunque posterius.* *Tertul. advers. Prax. prope princip.*

(b) *Constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab initio, ab initio quod ab Apostolis.* *Tertul. advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. prope princip.* (c) *Fer. vi. 16.*

Catholick and Apostolical, may thence take Occasion to persuade those who have not Opportunities and Abilities to examine the Records of the ancient Church (which are much the greatest Number of Men) that even their real Errors and Corruptions are as Ancient, Catholick and Apostolical as these. Thus, for Instance, *The Independency of the Church upon the State, as to its pure Spiritual Powers,* is a Doctrine which some have been pleased to charge as *Popish*. Now this being (as I trust I shall be able to prove) most certainly and evidently a true Christian Doctrine, may not a *Romish* Emissary make great Advantage from such an unjust Charge? You see here, says such an one to an honest well-meaning Person, how your Teachers impose upon you, and affright you with a mere Bug-bear Word. They have trained you up to be afraid of the Name *Po-*
pery, but if you come to examine what they mean by that Word, it is plain they only understand something which they do not like, and which therefore they would not have you like; not that the Thing is, in itself, corrupt and erroneous, but they have some Ends to serve by making you think it is. They tell you, for Instance, That to believe *the Church has any Powers independent on the State*, is *Popery*: Upon which you immediately conclude, that it is an abominable, wicked Doctrine, and reject it without farther Examination. But now I will shew you that this is the Doctrine

of

‘ of Christ, of his Apostles, and of the whole Christian Church downwards:’ And accordingly plainly shews and convinces the Man that the Thing is so. And having so convinced him, which may very easily be done even from the Scriptures themselves, he then proceeds and says, ‘ You see now how your Guides deceive you, they have bred you up from your Infancy to an Abhorrence of the Name Popery, and now you see what they call Popery is no other than Christianity itself, the very Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. I have shewed you this in one Point, I will now shew it you in others.’ Then he proceeds to other Points lately charged as Popish, and shews them also to be the Doctrine of Christ, and his Apostles; and then says, *Will you any longer trust to Guides who have so deceived you?*

What shall a plain honest Man do in this Case? He finds his own Guides have deceived him, this Romish Emissary has undeceived him in several Points. He has not Time or Opportunity to examine all the Particulars of the Romish Religion, but considers that it is not proper to trust those any longer with the Care of his Soul, who have so evidently imposed upon his Understanding: And that it will be better for him to be guided by the Man that has undeceived him in so many Particulars. Hereupon he gives himself up to the Guidance of this cunning Emissary, who, by this Means, draws him in to be reconciled to the Roman Communion, and being

being so reconciled, he then embraces all their corrupt Doctrines without any farther Examination. This is the natural Effect of giving the Name *Popery* to such Doctrines as are not really so, but are so plainly and evidently the Doctrines of the truly Primitive Church.

¶ II. Whereas on the other hand, would we rightly and truly inform our People what are the Doctrines of the truly Primitive Church, would the Governors of the Church restore those Parts of the first reform'd Liturgy, in King *Edward the VIth's* Days, which were expung'd chiefly to gratify Foreign Presbyterians, who nevertheless did then, and still do refuse to come into the Episcopal Communion; and which Liturgy was, by the First *Act for Uniformity*, declared to have been finished by the Aid of the *Holy Ghost*; whereof we have no Reason to doubt, since the Compilers of that First Liturgy had so great a Regard to the *Holy Scripture*, and the Usages of the Primitive Church for the first Four Centuries of Christianity; all which Time it must be allowed that the Church continued in its greatest Purity.: Would we, in our Sermons and Discourses, shew the People, that what we call *Popery* is a Corruption and Deviation from these Doctrines and Practices of the Primitive Church, introduced since that Time by the Bishop of *Rome* and those of his Communion: Would we shew them what those Corruptions are, and how they have been summed up by the Pope himself in the Additional Articles

ticles to the Apostles Creed, of which I have given an Account in *my Vindication*: Would we thus inform the Flocks committed to our Charge what *Popery* is, and what is true *Primitive Christianity*, we should certainly deprive the *Romish* Emissaries of many Advantages they now have of seducing People to their Communion.

§ III. In order therefore to give People right Notions of these Matters, and as far as lies in me to deprive the *Romish* Emissaries of the Advantages they may take from some Peoples calling those Things *Papist* which really are not so; since the giving the Name of *Popery* to that which is truly Christian and Primitive, may so naturally give those Emissaries an Handle to represent such Guides as Deceivers, and thereby to seduce well meaning, but unwary Persons to their abominably corrupt Religion; as I have, in *my Vindication*, shewed the World, from the Creed of Pope *Pius*, what are the corrupt Doctrines of the *Romish* Communion, and also that some Doctrines of *Primitive Christianity*, which have lately been pleaded for, are not *Popery* nor favouring of *Popery*, as some would misrepresent them to be; I shall now, in farther Prosecution of the same Argument, re-consider those Doctrines, more fully prove them to be Primitive and Christian, shew the Usefulness of them, and how all the People may be trained up to the Knowledge and Understanding of them, and thereby be the better secured from the Subtlety of *Romish* Emissaries.

§ IV.

§ IV. I shall take them in their Order as they are laid down in (*d*) my *Vindication*, adding only two more Particulars which I am sensible are of equal Antiquity and Universality with the others : Which are, 1st, *The mixing Water with the Wine in the Celebration of the Haly Eucharist* : And, 2dly, *The Practice of Chrism in Confirmation*. And if any other Matters, not yet received or practised in our Church, should be found to be of equal Antiquity and Universality, I declare it to be my hearty Desire that they also may be restored : For I am well assured, that from the Beginning of the Gospel of Christ, to the Time of the Council of Nice, and long after, during the Fourth Century, the Catholick Church, all over the World, was united in one Holy Doctrine, Discipline and Manner of Worship. It is certain that the Bishops, who met in that celebrated Council, came from all the known Parts of the Christian World, and were all entirely of the same Communion : For although there were two or three *Arians* who differed from the rest in the Sense of an Article of Faith, yet neither then nor after does it appear that they differed in their Manner of Worship ; nor, till the Church thought fit to expell them for their Heretical Pravity, did they innovate any thing in the Publick Offices. Indeed, during these first Ages, there was some

(d) *Pag. 22, 23.*

Difference between the *Asiaticks* and some other *Christian Churches*, about the Day whereon *Easter* should be kept ; but even that Difference was adjusted by this Council, and all were brought to an Uniform Practice also in that Point. The Practice of the Church therefore at the Time of the Council of *Nice*, is certainly best fitted to be the Standard for every Reformation of the Church. And when I consider what was done by our Reformers in the first Liturgy of King *Edward VI*, I am fully convinced they intended to make the first three or four Centuries the only Pattern for themselves, and purposed to reform all the corrupt Doctrines and Practices of the *Roman Church*, to make them agreeable to the Practice of those Ages : But were induced afterwards (as we have Reason to believe) upon Political Reasons, to lay aside divers of those ancient Doctrines and Practices, to gratify *Calvin*, *Bucer*, and other Foreign *Presbyterians*, in order to secure a Party abroad : But that Party abroad, instead of assisting and defending our Church, which had yielded so much to gratify it, and gain its good Will, on the contrary raised such a Party at home against our Constitution, both in Church and State, as once prevailed so far as to overturn both, and have ever since been as Thorns in our Sides, and a Snare unto us.

§ V. Since then we have seen and experienced the Folly of deviating so far from the Primitive Plan, to gain those who cannot be gained by

by any thing but the utter Extirpation of Episcopacy and Liturgy, and all that is not according to their own Novel Fancies, why should we not entirely restore our Liturgy to the Primitive Standard, and revive those Usages which were retained by our first Reformers before they had any Thoughts of gratifying the *Calvinian* Party ? Which has been so far from being gained by those unwary Concessions, that it has only given them an Opportunity to do us the greatest Mischief. But by returning to those Usages, we shall plainly lead the Van for the Introduction of Catholick Unity into the Church of Christ : For we shall then want nothing (as we now most certainly do) that is agreeable to the Practice of the Primitive Church, when a Catholick Uniformity was universally preserved. Whilst these Doctrines and Usages I am now pleading for were observed, the Church-Universal was united in the same Faith, Discipline and Worship. The laying them aside has been the Cause of our Dis-union. The only Means to remove this Dis-union, is by every Church's returning to a closer Union with the Primitive Church in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship : For as the Church never was so strictly and firmly united as in the Primitive Times, and particularly about the Time when the Council of Nice was celebrated, because whatever Differences might then be between particular Churches about fasting upon the Saturday, or any other indifferent Rite or Custom, yet this made no Difference be-

between them as to Faith, Discipline and Worship; that was one and the same in all Places: So if ever the Church be as firmly united again, it must be upon the same Principles and Practices. The Church never was united but upon the Principles and Usages which obtained at the Time of the *Nicene Council*: And we have therefore good Reason to believe that it never can be united, but upon those Principles and Usages. That Church then which shall first restore all those Principles and Usages, may be justly said to lead the Way to Catholick Union. And this is the Reason why I cannot forbear to plead so earnestly in Behalf of these Primitive Doctrines, and am so desirous to see them revived amongst us, if possible.

P O S T S C R I P T.

WHereas, in the Second Edition of a Book called, *An Account of Church-Government, &c.* which I publish'd in the Year 1710. I have, Page 38, &c. charged the *Non-jurors* with Conventicling and *Schism*; I do here, in the Face of the World, recall that Charge, -Retracting (as I then declared *I should be ready to do upon better Information*) whatever I have there, or any where else, laid down or asserted in Opposition to my present Practice, or in Vindication of that Compliance to which I then thought it my Duty to submit: Referring all those who have been misguided by the Erroneous Arguments made use of upon that Occasion to this small Treatise of the *Independency of the Church*; and another I lately publish'd, entitled, *Dr. Bennet's Confessions to the Non-jurors, &c.* Lond. 1717. In which they will find the Reasons and Grounds of that Accusation sufficiently answered and confuted, and the *Non-jurors* vindicated from the Imputation of *Schism*. And to this End, I earnestly intreat them to give them both an impartial Reading,

T H E



THE
INDEPENDENCY
OF THE
CHURCH
UPON THE
STATE, &c.

§ I.



THE pure Spiritual Powers of the Church are, (a) to publish the Gospel of Christ, and thereby to make Converts to his Religion; (b) to admit such Converts into the Church by Baptism; (c) to impose Hands on them for their Reception of the Holy Ghost, which we call by the Name of Confirmation; (d) to ordain Bishops, or other inferior Pastors, in every City or other Place, as there shall be Occasion, to feed and watch over the Flocks committed to

(a) Matth. xxviii. 19. Mar. xvi. 15.

(b) Matth. xxviii. 20. Mar. xvi. 16. Act. ii. 38.

(c) Act. viii. 17. and xix. 6. Hebr. vi. 2.

(d) Act. vi. 3,6. and xiv. 23. 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. Tit. i. 5.

The Independency of the

their Charge ; (e) to require the People to receive and obey the Spiritual Guides thus set over them ; (f) to give them a sufficient Maintenance ; (g) and to account of them as the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God ; (h) to keep stedfastly in the Communion of their Rightful Pastors, to assemble with them for Religious Worship to offer up Prayers and Praises to God, and to receive from their Hands the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ ; (i) to excommunicate or repell notorious Offenders from the Communion of the Church, and to re-admit them again upon due Testimonies of Repentance. These are plainly the Spiritual Powers of the Church ; and it is evident from the Scriptures, that *Christ* committed all this Power to his Apostles ; that they likewise committed the same Power to others whom they set over the several Churches which they founded in the several Parts of the World, with Authority to continue this Succession of faithful Pastors throughout all Ages ; and this without any Application to the *Roman* Emperor, or any other Civil Magistrate whatsoever, for his farther Commission to authorize or empower them to do these Things. Nay, the Civil Magistrate frequently impeded them in the Exercise of these Powers ; and it was soon made Death by the Imperial Laws to exercise or obey any such Powers, that is, to be either a *Christian* Priest or Laick ; and these Laws continu'd in Force against them (only as they were for some short Intervals suspended, or the Non-Execution of them connived at) for three hundred Years : In which Space *Chi-*

(e) *Phil.* ii. 29. *1 Thess.* v. 12, 13. *1 Tim.* v. 17. *Hebr.* xiii. 7, 17.

(f) *1 Cor.* ix. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. *Gal.* vi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. *1 Tim.* v. 17, 18.

(g) *1 Cor.* iv. 1. *Col.* i. 25.

(h) *Act.* ii. 42. and xi. 26. *1 Cor.* x. 16. and xi. 20. *Hebr.* x. 25.

(i) *1 Cor.* v. 3, 4, 5. *2 Cor.* ii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

stians endured ten very severe Persecutions. Yet all that time the Church not only continu'd to exist, but wonderfully increas'd every Day, till at last it brought both Emperor and Empire into its Communion, and obtain'd the Protection of the State. But did this transferr any of these Powers to the Emperor, or any Civil Magistrate whatsoever? By no means. The Emperor or Sovereign, by becoming *Christian*, did not acquire any Spiritual Power or Authority; he could neither preach the Word, nor administer Sacraments, nor commission any Person to perform those Offices, who had not before derived an Authority from *Christ*, or according to his Institution in that Case. The Emperors were admitted into the Church, by no other Means, nor on any other Conditions, than other Men: Their Admission, like that of all others, was by Baptism, administered to them exactly in the same Form as to all others; consequently they could acquire no more Spiritual Rights or Privileges by it, than any other Men. They were thereby, indeed, made Spiritual Sons of the Church, but by no means Spiritual Fathers: That is a Power to be acquired no otherwise than by Ordination.

§ II. It has been objected by some (weakly enough) that the Scripture itself (k) tells us, That *Kings and Queens shall be the Nursing-Fathers and Mothers of the Church*. From whence they would inferr, that every *Christian King and Queen* is a *Spiritual Father and Mother*. But after all, there is no such Words as *Father or Mother* in this Text, except in our English Translation; and there it is far from meaning what some heedlessly and unwarily would gather from it. For the Translators fairly tell us in the

(k) *1 Jn. xl ix. 23.*

4 : The Independency of the

Margin of the Bible, that the Word which they translate *Nursing-Fathers*, in the Hebrew, or Original, is no more than *Nourishers*; and they might also have told us, that the Word which they translate *Nursing-Mothers*, signifies only *Nurses giving Suck*; and so all other Translations, but ours, have rendred both these Words. So that those who would build any thing of a Spiritual Fatherhood or Motherhood from this Text, have nothing but a meer *Anglicism* on which they can lay their Foundation. But read the whole Text, and the Matter will be yet more clear. *Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and their Queens thy Nursing-Mothers : They shall bow to thee with their Face towards the Earth, and lick up the Dust of thy Feet.* What can be plainer from hence, than that Kings and Queens, like true Nourishers and Cherishers, should protect and defend the Church from all outward Wrong and Violence, and shou'd bow down before the Guides and Governors of it; to receive the Word and Sacraments at their Hands, and to submit to the Doctrine and Discipline of *Christ*, as ministred by them? And ought not all Christian Kings and Princes to do this? Nay, have not all godly Princes acted in this manner?

§ III. However, the Pope, the grand Corrupter of Christianity, taking upon him, under Pretence of maintaining the Independency of the Church, to exempt some Causes, and some Persons, from all Civil Subjection to their Princes, gave the Princes a just Occasion to reject this usurped Power: And at the Reformation, when divers Princes and States, and ours among the rest, not able to bear these Usurpations and Encroachments, found it necessary to shake off the Papal Yoke, gave Occasion to many Controversies on this Subject, and many Books were written, and Laws made concerning this Matter. And because the Popé had strained the Matter too

too high on the Church side, those who wrote of the other side, thought it impossible to carry Matters too high that way. Hereupon, when these Things were debated here in the Reign of King Henry VIII. some strange and particular Notions were then first advanced; of which an Account is given us by Bishop Burnet, in the first Volume (1) of his *History of the Reformation.*

§ IV. Here the Question was put in this Manner, *Whether the Apostles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that Necessity, or by Authority given by God?* Archbishop Cranmer gave a long Answer to this, which would be tedious to recite here. But the Substance of it is, *That all Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests, are to be appointed to their several Offices by the Prince, in such Manner as Civil Officers are, and that they have no Power or Authority in Spiritual Matters, but what they receive from the Prince: That the Apostles and Bishops of the Primitive Church exercised this Power only through Necessity, as being chosen by the People for that Purpose, because there was then no Christian Prince.* An Opinion for which he could not produce the least Authority from Scripture; nor did he pretend to give any. But he knew it would be very agreeable to the Humour of that arbitrary Prince, whose Pleasure seems generally to have had a great Influence on the Principles of this Prelate. But I find no other Bishop or Divine came entirely up to this Opinion, except the Bishop of S. David's, who declared, *That because they lacked a Christian Prince, by that Necessity they ordained other Bishops.* Others, who could not come up to this Opinion entirely, when they had declared *That the Apostles made*

(1) Collection of Records, Book III. Num. 21. Quest. 9.

Bishops and Priests by Authority given unto them of Christ ; yet, to mitigate the Matter, put in a Supposition of their own, without pretending any other Ground for it, That they supposed they ought to have asked Licence of their Christian Governors, if then there had been any. But others plainly said, That the Apostles made Priests by their own Power given them by God, and that they had no need of any other Power. And if the Power was given them by God, as all the rest also confess'd, except the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of S. David's, they could have no need of any other Power : For certainly no Human Power can be needful to confirm or corroborate a Power given by God.

§ V. The next Question but one is put in these Words, *Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?* Archbishop Cranmer answers as before, *A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scripture, and so may Princes and Governors also, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and the People also by their Election:* For as we read, That Bishops have done it, and the People, before Christian Princes were, did commonly elect their Bishops and Priests. It seems, this great Man could not distinguish between *Nominating or Electing, and Making or Ordaining a Bishop or Priest.* But, sure, every Body else must see the Difference. A General of an Army, for Instance, has a Friend whom he is willing to oblige in any Request, or whom perhaps for some particular Reasons he dares not disoblige; this Person recommends one to him to be made an Officer in the Army, and accordingly the General gives that Person a Commission; will any one say that it was the Recommendation or Nomination made that Person an Officer, and not the Commission? Whereas had he been recommended or nominated ten thousand times over, yet

yet without the General's Commission he could have had no Command in the Army. So also Princes have generally had such an Influence over the Bishops that have been their Subjects, that they have not dared to refuse to consecrate or ordain such as they have nominated to them ; but still it was not the Nomination made those Persons Priests or Bishops, but the Consecration or Ordination. And where the Bishops have refused the Person so nominated, which has sometimes happen'd, the Nomination has been of no Service to him ; it has been found that could not make him either Bishop or Priest. But this Learned Archbishop (for so undoubtedly he was, however in this and many other Instances his Judgment seems to have been byassed by his King) pretends it may be proved by Scripture, that *Princes and Governors may make a Priest*, whereas there is not an Instance of a Prince or Governor in all the Scripture, that did make a Priest, except *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat* ; and this was so far from being approved or allowed by God, that it is expressly recorded, (m) that *this Thing became Sin unto the House of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and destroy it from off the Face of the Earth.* He adds, *the People also may do it by their Election.* And there is indeed one Instance (n) of the People's electing seven Men to be made *Deacons or Ministers.* But it is plain, that it was not the People's Election, but the Apostles Appointment and Ordination which made those Men Ministers. The Apostles Words are, *Look ye out seven Men of honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom.* And what follows ? Do they say, when you have chosen these Men, they will, by vertue of this Election, have Authority to execute the Office to which they are designed ? No such Thing. But *look ye out Men, not whom ye, but whom*

(m) 1 King. xiii. 34.

(n) Act. vi.

WE may appoint over this Business. And accordingly they chose seven according to the Apostles Direction, whom they set before the Apostles: *And when they had prayed, they, the Apostles, laid their Hands on them.* So that here is a plain Difference between Choosing or Nominating, and Making or Ordaining a Minister. The Apostles gave the People Leave to nominate or choose fit Persons to be Ministers or Deacons, but reserved the Making, Appointing, or Ordaining them to that Office entirely to themselves. And it was plainly not the Election, but the Ordination, or Appointment by Imposition of Hands, that made them Deacons. Had they been only elected by the People, and not appointed or ordained by the Apostles, they had been no Ministers of the Church. And Archbishop Cranmer himself was inconsistent with the Opinion which he gave in this Answer; for in another Answer of his to this same Question given us by (o) Strype, he says, *We read not, that any other, not being a Bishop, hath since the Beginning of Christ's Church ordained a Priest.* However, the Bishop of S. David's thought fit to say upon this Occasion, That Bishops have no Authority to make Priests, without they be authorized of the Christian Prince. But in this he was singular; for the others, all of them, did say, that Bishops be authorized of God to make Priests. Some of them indeed did add, *That they cannot use this Authority, without their Christian Prince does permit them;* but the Majority did not give their Opinion with that Limitation,

§ VI. Now this being the most material Point with relation to the *Independency of the Church upon the State*, viz. Whether Bishops, who are the chief Governors of the Church, derive their Authority from God,

(o) *Memoir of Archbishop Cranmer, Appendix, Num. xxxviii, § 21.*

or from the Christian Prince? I could not but think it proper to be very particular in this Matter. And the Reign of King Henry VIII. being, I am persuaded, the first time this was made a Question, I judged it convenient to give an Account how the Question was then proposed, and what Answers were made to it. But as the Answers were then various, and contrary to one another, so have the Opinions been ever since: That is, there has ever since been a Party, who have espoused the Opinions then given by Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Barlow, (though it is evident Cranmer did not always hold that Opinion) who, from Thomas Erastus, a Dutch Physician, (who I think was the first that wrote a Book on purpose to pretend to prove it) have been called Erastians: Who has since been followed by Prynne and Hobbs, and the Author of the Book falsely called *The Rights of the Christian Church*, and many others. But it is not my Purpose at this time to examine the Arguments these Men, or any of their Followers, have brought to prove their Opinion in this Case: I think it will be sufficient to shew, that it is directly contrary to the Scriptures; and then every one that believes the Scriptures, must see, that whatever Arguments they have, or can produce, must be false and groundless.

§ VII. The Scriptures teach us, (p) that Christ is the Head of the Body; the Church. Consequently, whoever has any Power in that Body, must derive it from him. For no Man can challenge a Power in a Body, Society, or Corporation of Men, but he who derives it from the Head of that Corporation. And Christ tells us, (q) that all Power is given unto him both in Heaven and in Earth; that is, all Spiritual

(p) Col. i. 18.

(q) Matth. xxviii. 18.

Power, all Power relating to his Spiritual Body the Church, as S. Paul explains it, who tells us, (x) That God put all things under his Feet, and gave him to be the Head over all things to the Church. For as to Temporal Power, our Saviour expressly disclaim'd it, when he said, (y) Who made me a Judge or a Divider over you? Though he had before declared (z) all things to have been deliver'd to him of the Father. And again, a little before his Death, he denied all Pretensions to Temporal Power, saying to Pilate, (a) My Kingdom is not of this World. He did not say, My Kingdom is not in this World: For his Church which is here on Earth, is his Kingdom, but not of this World, because it is govern'd in another Manner than the Kingdoms of the World are, and its Rewards and Punishments are to be distributed in another Place. Therefore, as he is a King, and in this World too, with regard to his Church, and as all Power in that respect is committed to him, therefore all Spiritual or Church-Power must be derived from him: For if any one can have a Spiritual Power not derived from him, then has not Christ All Spiritual Power. But he has All; therefore whoever has any, must have it from him. We have then nothing more to do, but to enquire to whom he committed this Power.

§ VIII. It is certain, he committed it not to the Magistrate: For there was no Magistrate at that time, that would or did receive and acknowledge Christ, but all generally opposed him. Neither did he commit it to the People, or to his Disciples in general; for though (b) as many as received him, to them gave he Power to become the Sons of God, yet he did not make all (c) his Ministers and Stewards of his

(x) Eph. i. 22.

(y) Luk. xii. 14.

(z) Luk. x. 22.

(a) Job. xviii. 36.

(b) Job. i. 12.

{c) 1 Cor. iv. 1.

Mysteries. (d) But he set only some in the Church to be first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, &c. whereas had he equally commission'd all his Disciples, then all would have been Apostles, all Prophets, &c. That is, as S. Paul observes, (e) All would have been one Member: And where then were the Body? Now, our Saviour had a great Multitude of Disciples in his own Life-time; so that the Pharisees complain'd of it, and said, (f) Behold, the World is gone after him; yet out of all these he at first (g) ordained but Twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach. (h) And afterwards he appointed other seventy also. He did not authorize all his Disciples promiscuously to go out and preach in his Name, but only such as he himself chose and sent. And when he was about to ascend into Heaven, then he delegated this and all other Spiritual Powers to his Apostles, saying, (i) As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And accordingly we find the Apostles did choose and send in like manner, (k) and ordained them Elders in every Church: And also committed the same Power of choosing and sending Presbyters, Priests, or Elders to others: As S. Paul tells Titus, saying, (l) For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in Order the Things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I appointed thee. And no Instance can be given throughout the whole new Testament, of any Persons being sent to preach the Gospel, or to perform any Functions belonging to the Ministry of the Gospel, that is, to exercise any Spiritual Powers, who was not commissioned to do so by Christ or his Apostles, or by some Person, such as

(d) 1 Cor. xii. 28. (e) 1 Cor. xiii. 19. (f) Job. xii. 19.
 (g) Mar. iii. 14. (h) Luk. x. 1. (i) Job. xx. 21.
 (k) Acts xiv. 23. (l) Tit. i. 5.

Timothy or Titus, vested by the Apostles, with Apostolical or Episcopal Authority. Nay, the whole History of the Church will not afford an Instance of any Persons being allowed to be a Bishop or Priest in the Church of God, but such as have received their Ordination from Bishops deriving their Succession from *Christ* and his Apostles, till *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and their Followers, (who have met with too many Disciples in this Realm) taught new and strange Doctrines, and would derive all Church-Power either from the Prince or People, just as it fitted their Purpose best. But whence could the Prince or People derive this Power? It is certain, *All Spiritual Power* is vested in *Christ*. He gave it to his Apostles and their Successors the Bishops, as the Scripture plainly teaches, and to no others, neither Prince nor People: How then can either Prince or People come by this Power?

§ IX. They tell us, that it must be in the Prince, because all Power is in him, and therefore he must have a Spiritual as well as a Temporal Power; and it is a Contradiction to say, That any Supreme Power should have another Power within his Dominions, independent on him. This is their main Argument, and all they have said on this occasion depends on this. But this is contradictory to Scripture, and therefore false. For our Saviour (who utterly disclaim'd all Temporal Power, as has been shewed) yet claim'd this Spiritual Power, and exercised it here on Earth as long as he continued with us, independent on the Civil Magistrate; for he claimed it as (m) *delivered to him of the Father*. The Apostles also claimed it as (n) committed to them by God, and therefore to be exercised by them,

(m) *Mat. xi. 27.*(n) *Act. iv. 19.*

notwithstanding any Prohibition from the Civil Magistrate; therefore to say, That no Power, and particularly this Spiritual Power, can be exercised independent on the Supreme Civil Magistrate, is directly to contradict the Scriptures: And must be false. It is evident, from the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical History, that *Christ*, his Apostles, and their Successors the Bishops of the Primitive Church, exercised this Authority which is now claimed as belonging to the present Bishops of the Church at this Day: And it is as evident, that they did not receive it, or any Part of it, from the Civil Magistrate, who was so far from allowing them any such Authority, that he persecuted them for exercising it. Now, if they had not a Divine Right to this Authority independent on the Magistrate, then that which they called a Persecution, was but a due and legal Execution of the Laws upon them, and (o) they suffer'd not as Martyrs for *Christianity*, for they had no Commission from the Emperor to preach, baptize, consecrate the Eucharist, ordain, or excommunicate; but were expressly forbidden to do any of those Things by many Emperors, particularly by *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, and *Dioclesian*; consequently, if they would do these things, and suffer for it, having no independent Authority with relation to such Matters, they all suffer'd justly, and as *Busy-Bodies in other Mens Matters*. But if we believe that *Christ*, and his Apostles, and their Successors, were Martyrs, (p) and bore *Witness to the Truth*; then must we believe that they all held this Spiritual Power I have been treating of, Independent on the Civil Magistrate; since it is so evident, from the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical History, that they

(o) 1 Pet. iv. 15, 16. (p.) Job. xviii. 37,

all both claimed and exercised it, even though the Civil Magistrate not only gave them no Commission for that purpose, but directly prohibited and hindred them in the Exercise of it, as much as he was able.

§ X. But at the Beginning of the Reformation, a new and before unheard-of Title was invented for the Civil Magistrate, and our King *Henry VIII.* would be called *Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England*, and forced all Persons (q) by his Acts of Parliament, under the severest Penalties to acknowledge him to be so. And from this strange and before unknown Title, which the *Christian Church* never heard of till that time, are derived all the Pretences to Spiritual Power, which some suppose to be lodged in the King or Supreme Magistrate. And indeed, if the King had a just Right to this Title, it might imply that the Church cannot be in any respect independent on him. For if he be the only *Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England*, as the Statute (but God be praised it is a Statute long since repealed) declares him to be, then all that have any Authority in the Church of *England*, must derive it from him: The Word of God cannot be preached, the Sacraments administred, or any Persons authorized to minister those Ordinances, but by him: Because, if they can derive an Authority from any one else, independent on him, to preach, and minister the Sacraments, then is he not the only *Supreme Head*. According to this Doctrine, there was no occasion for Ordination of a Priest, or Consecration of a Bishop, for any Spiritual Purposes; the King's Commission alone

(q) 26 H. VIII. c. 1. & 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. & 10.

was sufficient. And so Archbishop Cranmer declared about that time, as appears from his Answer to the Question before cited. *All Christian Peoples*, says he, *have committed into them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Administration of God's Word, for the Cure of Souls, as concerning the Ministration of Things Political, and Civil Governance: And in both these Ministriations, they must have sundry Ministers under them to supply that, which is appointed to their several Offices.* The Civil Ministers under the King's Majesty, in this Realm of England, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the Time to put in Authority under him: As for Example, The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Great Master, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Admirals, Mayors, Sheriffs, &c. The Ministers of God's Word, under his Majesty, be the Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests, as be appointed by his Highness to that Ministration: As for Example, The Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Winchester, the Parson of Winwick, &c. ALL the said Officers and Ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every Place by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the Admission of many of these Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which be not of Necessity, but only for a good Order and seemly Fashion; for if such Offices and Ministriations were committed without such Solemnyt, they were nevertheless truly committed: And there is no more Promise of God, that Grace is given in the Committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the Committing the Civil Office. Now, this Doctrine deliver'd by this Archbishop, is a very natural plain Consequence of making a King or other Civil Magistrate Supreme Head of the Church: For if he be so, all Spiritual Power as well as Temporal must be deriv'd from him, and he may commit it to whom he pleases, and in what Manner he pleases. But then, as it is agreeable

agreeable to that *Supreme Headship*, which was at that time supposed to be vested in the Christian Prince by Act of Parliament, it is plainly opposite to the Holy Scriptures; which give no such Authority to Kings and Princes, but declare *Christ* alone to be the *Supreme Head of his Church*, and teach us that he committed no Part of this Authority to any Civil Magistrate, but to his Apostles only, and to their Successors whom he sent, as he was sent of the Father, as has been already proved. And whereas Archbishop Cranmer says, there is no more Promise of God, that Grace is given in the Committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the Committing of the Civil Office, that is also contrary to plain Scripture. For when *Christ* committed the Ecclesiastical Office to his Apostles, and sent them forth to preach and baptize, he promised them (r) to be with them alway, even unto the End of the World. Which is as clear a Promise as he could make, that his Grace and Holy Spirit should accompany the Ministrations then committed to them, not for their Lives only, but throughout all Generations; which must necessarily imply the like Grace to be continu'd to the Ministrations of those who should succeed them. But we find no such Promise of Grace made to the Civil Magistrate, or to any commissioned by him.

§ XI. However, King Henry VIII. having taken upon him the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, thought it proper to exercise it in its full Extent: (s) And accordingly made the Bishops take out a strange Commission (as Bishop Burnet himself styles it) which might give just Occasion to call them the King's

(r) Matth. xxviii. 20.

(s) Burnet's Hist. of Refor. 4th Edition, p. 255. Collier's Hist. Vol. II. p. 169. Col. 2.

Bishops. The Substance of it was, That since all Jurisdiction, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, flowed from the King as Supreme Head, and he was the Fountain of all Power; it became those who exercised it only (precariously) at the King's Courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his Bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again, when it should please him to call for it. And since the King had constituted the Lord Cromwell his Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs; yet because he could not look into all those Matters, therefore the King, upon Bonner's Petition, did empower him, in his own Stead, to ordain such as he found worthy, to present and give Institution, with all the other Parts of the Episcopal Authority, for which he is duly commissionated; and this to last during the King's Pleasure only. And all the Parts of the Episcopal Function being reckon'd up, it concluded with a strict Charge to the Bishop to ordain none but such of whose Integrity, good Life, and Learning, he had very good Assurance. Bishop Burnet pretends, that only Bonner took such a Commission; but Anthony Harmer has shewn, that Cranmer and many others, and probably all the Bishops of that Time did the same.

§ XII. It appears by this Commission, that the King looked upon himself to have full Authority, by virtue of his Supreme Headship, to ordain Bishops, Priests, or Deacons; for he plainly authorizes the Bishops, to whom he gave this Commission, to do this in his own Stead, which necessarily implies that he might have done it himself, if he had pleased: Nay, that the Lord Cromwell his Vicegerent might have done it; for it seems, it was only because he was not at Leisure to look into these Matters, that the King was induced to grant these Commissions to the several Bishops. And yet after all, it appears from this very Commission, that King Henry VIII. himself was not satisfy'd that he really had all that Power

which he here pretended to, or that the Bishop had no manner of Power or Authority but what he receiv'd from him, and therefore found it necessary to throw these Words into the Commission, (as Mr. Collier observes) *Prater & ultra ea qua tibi ex sacris literis Divinitus commissa esse dignoscuntur: Over and above those Things which are known from the Holy Scriptures to have been committed to you by God.* Which Words do effectually overthrow that boundless Supremacy pretended to in the other Parts of the Commission. For, if the Bishops and Pastors of the Church have any thing immediately committed to them by God, independent on the Civil Magistrate, as this Clause affirms, then all *Spiritual Power* is not deriv'd from the King, as is pretended in the other Parts of this Commission; consequently, King Henry was not such a *Supreme Head* as he was desirous to be thought; and by this very Clause declares the Scriptures to be against that pretended *Headship*.

§ XIII. Also, though in this Commission he declares all Episcopal Power to be deriv'd from himself, and that *Cromwell*, his Vicegerent, was vested with the Authority of all the Bishops in *England*; yet, when he made his Act of Parliament (which was about the same time these Commissions were granted) for the Election and Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, he did not pretend to make Bishops otherwise than they had been madé before. For though he carry'd his Right of Patronage, or of Recommending or Nominating the Person to be made a Bishop, to its full Height, býond the Example of former Ages, and decreed, (t) that if the Dean and Chapter *deferr or delay their Election above twelve Days next after the Licence and Letters Missiva*

(t) 25 Henry VIII. Cap. V.

are to them delivered, that then for every such Defaule, the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, at their Liberty and Pleasure, shall nominate and present, by their Letters Patents under their Great Seal, such a Person to the said Office and Dignity, as they shall think able and convenient for the same. But then, if the Archbishops or Bishops shall refuse or neglect to consecrate him, the Statute does not say, that he shall be taken or reputed for a Bishop notwithstanding. It lays indeed such Archbishop or Bishops refusing under the Penalty of a Premunire; but if they had Courage and Constancy to bear that Penalty, even this Supreme Head of the Church did not think himself capable of making a Bishop without them, notwithstanding Archbishop Cranmer's Opinion, that these Ceremonies of Consecration or Imposition of Episcopal Hands were not necessary.

§ XIV. This Title of Supreme Head of the Church continu'd the remaining Part of King Henry VIII's Reign, and throughout that of his Son King Edw. VI. but was repealed (u) by Queen Mary, and never since revived. For Queen Elizabeth never was, nor would be called Supreme Head of the Church, but contented herself with the Title of Supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness's Realms, Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as Temporal: And allowed also, that it should be declared in (w) the Articles publish'd by her Authority, that where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief Government, by which Titles we understand the Minds of some slanderous Folks to be offended: We give not to our Princes the Ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which Thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth

(u) 8 & 2 Phil. & Mar. Cap VIII.

(w) Art. 37.

our Queen, doth most plainly testify: But that only Pre-rogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the CIVIL Sword the Stubborn and Evil-Doers. Whereby the Regal Supremacy over Ecclesiastical Causes and Persons is plainly declared to be no other than a Civil Power, and not that Spiritual Power which Christ committed to his Apostles, and is deriv'd from them to the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, and which the Words *Supreme Head of the Church* seem'd to vest in the Crown.

§ XV. Since, then, that Title of *Supreme Head of the Church* was a Title assum'd by King Henry VIII. continu'd only by him and his Son, who liv'd and died in his Minority, and was then repeal'd by Act of Parliament, and never since restored or made Part of the Regal Title; that it is also a Title never known or heard of till that Age, and liable to very strange Constructions, even to the utter annulling and destroying all that Power which Christ committed to his Apostles, and from them to the Bishops and Pastors of his Church; I have often wonder'd, how so many Learned Men have to this Day continu'd to give this Title to our Princes, and how so many of the Clergy, in their Prayer before Sermon, should call our King, *next and immediately under Christ, Supreme Head*: Since neither our Laws nor our Canons do at this time, or have for these hundred and fifty Years and upwards given him this Title. I am persuaded, that nothing has more contributed to the spreading of *Erasianism*, than this unwary Custom of styling our King *Supreme Head of the Church*, which I am assur'd has no Law or Canon now in Force to oblige us; and, I am well satisfy'd, has neither

ther Reason, Religion, nor Gospel to induce us to use it. For if the King be *Supreme Head of the Church*, then it is impossible the Church should subsist without the King; for no Body, (x) and such the Scripture tells us the Church is, can subsist without its Head. But the Church, we all know, did subsist during the Time of *Christ* and his Apostles, and above two hundred Years after their Deaths, without having any Sovereign Prince of its Communion; and consequently, without any Headship of any Temporal Prince; for no Man can be Head of a Communion of which he is not so much as a Member. And how a Prince can become Head of a Church, by being made a Member of it, I cannot see. The Prince is admitted into the Church, just as others are, by Baptism; but that only makes him a Son or Member of the Church: But it is Consecration or Ordination alone, that makes Fathers or Heads. And therefore Religious Christian Princes have always esteemed Bishops as their Spiritual Fathers; and to this Day they, as well as other Members of the Church, call them their *Right Reverend Fathers in Christ*. But are they Fathers to the *Supreme Head of their Church*? This seems to be a kind of Contradiction.

§ XVI. Kings then have a *Civil*, not a *Spiritual Authority* over all the Members of the Church. No Man, by becoming a *Christian*, gains any Exemption from that Obedience and Duty which every one owes his Prince, as he is a Subject. Even *Bishops* themselves, to whom *Christ*, as Successors to the *Apostles*, has committed the chief Government of his Church, are not thereby freed from that Allegiance, or any Part of it, which as Temporal Subjects

(x) Eph. i. 22, 23. Rom. xiii. 4, 5. 1 Cor. xii. 27.
Eph. iv. 12. & v. 23, 30. Col. i. 24.

they owe to their Sovereign: Much less therefore can the Inferior Orders of *Priests* and *Deacons* claim any such Exemption. They are all as much Subject to the Supreme Temporal Authority of the Country where they live, as they were or ought to have been before their Ordination. And they are bound to this Obedience even by the Rules and Precepts of that Gospel which they are to preach to others. The same Lord who has committed to them the Spiritual Authority over his Church, has also commanded them to be subject to the State, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake. Neither our Saviour nor his Apostles pretended to an Exemption from that Obedience which all Subjects owe to the Civil Powers; but upon all Occasions submitted to, and acknowledged their Authority, and put those in mind who were committed to their Charge, to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magistrates. It is true, where their Religion was concern'd, where the Magistrate commanded what God had forbidden, or where he forbade what God had commanded, they would not obey, because it is necessary to obey God rather than Man; yet even in such Cases they did not resist and oppose the Higher Powers with the Sword, or with any Carnal Weapons which God had put into the Temporal Magistrates Hands, and forbade them to take into their own Hands in Opposition to them; but committing their Cause to God, submitted to, and patiently bore such Punishments as the Magistrate thought fit to lay upon them, and counted it an Honour when they were thought worthy to suffer Persecution for the Name of *Christ*; for they knew that he alone had the Power of the Sword, and that although he abused that Power in the Persecution of themselves, and other Innocent or Well-deserving Persons; yet they had no Commission or Authority to wrest the Sword out of

of his Hands, and therefore were obliged peaceably to bear his unjust Proceedings against them; which they always did readily and chearfully, as knowing that God, whom they had chosen to obey, was Lord also of the Magistrate, and would in his own Time, and by such Means as he thought best, do Right to those that suffer'd Wrong, and give that unjust Magistrate Cause to wish that he had made a better Use of his Power.

§ XVII. And as *Spiritual Persons*, so neither are the Temporal Rewards or Punishments annex'd to *Spiritual Causes* exempt from the Civil Jurisdiction of the Magistrate. It is he alone, that, by Civil Sanctions, can oblige his Subjects to receive even Christianity itself. For though *Christ* descended from Heaven, and took our Nature upon him that he might publish this Religion to the World, and settle and establish it by promising the highest Rewards to those which should receive it, and live according to his Doctrine and Precepts; and threatening the severest Punishments to those that should reject it, even to the Magistrates as well as others; yet he took not upon him to make any Civil or Temporal Laws concerning his Religion, any more than concerning other Matters. The Rewards which he promised, and the Penalties which he threatned, were not Temporal but Eternal, and related not to this Life, but to another; for his Kingdom is not of this World. Therefore Civil Rewards or Punishments cannot be given or inflicted even in *Spiritual Causes*, but by the Magistrate, and he must be the Judge whether it be proper to bestow the one, or to inflict the other. Thus, for Instance, when the Arch-Heretick *Arius* was convened and tried before the Council of *Nice*, concerning a *Spiritual Cause*, even an Article of Faith of the highest Consequence, as whether our Saviour is True and

Eternal God, of one Substance with the Father; though the *Bishops* were the only Judges whether this was an Heresy and Crime for which he deserved to be expelled from the Communion of the Church; yet *Constantine* the Emperor was the sole Judge, whether he should also be expelled his Native Country, and sent into Banishment. It is true, the *Bishops* might represent to him how dangerous it would be to the Peace of the Church, to let such a Man return to *Alexandria*, where he had done so much Mischief already; but if he would not have hearken'd to them, they had no Means to compell the Emperor to banish him, or to inflict that Punishment on him themselves. As Banishment was a Penalty which none but *Constantine* could lay upon *Arius*, so was he the only Judge whether he should order that Penalty to be executed. For since *Christ* has annexed no Temporal Punishments to the Breach of his Laws, the Civil Magistrate is, and must be Judge of such Matters, i. e. whether it be proper to decree a Temporal Penalty against those who are only guilty of a Spiritual Offence, and likewise to determine what that Penalty shall be. But whether the Magistrate will decree in such a Case or not, or whether he decree according to Right or not, the Matter is still the same; the Person expelled the Communion of the Church by the *Bishops*, to whom alone *Christ* has committed his Keys, will continue an Alien from the Church, and lie under the Spiritual Censures of it, notwithstanding the Magistrate should directly declare the contrary. (y) Thus in the Case before-mentioned, when *Constantine* thought fit to recall *Arius* from his Banishment, as believing him to have sincerely repented of his Heresy, yet he

(y) *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38.*

did not pretend to restore him to the Peace of the Church by his own Authority, but sent him to his own Bishop *Athanasius* to be by him received into the Bosom of the Church. Indeed, the Emperor did also send a Mandatory Letter, requiring *Athanasius* to receive him; but that Bishop refused to obey such a *Mandate*, and still denied Communion to *Arius* and his Adherents. Nor did the *Eusebians*, who secretly favour'd *Arius* and his Cause, and for that Reason bore a deadly Hatred to *Athanasius*, and had at that time a great Interest with *Constantine*, pretend to say, that *Athanasius* had not a Right to judge in this Case, notwithstanding the Orders of the Emperor, or to make his Refusal of Communion to *Arius* after those Orders, a Matter of Accusation, however they might use it as a Motive to incense the Emperor against him. But though they resolved to depose him, and get him banish'd, they were forced to frame Accusations against him of another Nature, such as his demanding Tribute to be paid by other Churches to his Church of *Alexandria*, his Breaking a Communion Chalice, Burning Sacred Books, Cutting off a Man's Hand, Stopping Corn which was going from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, Matters which belonged to the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrate. And for these things, (though falsely laid to his Charge, and sufficiently disproved by him) a Synod of Bishops, headed by his professed Enemies, was packed at *Tyre*, that might have the Pretence of a Spiritual Authority to depose him, and the Emperor was prevailed with to banish him. But his Refusal to admit *Arius* to Communion notwithstanding the Emperors Orders to do it, though Notorious and Publick, and such as he neither could nor would have denied, was not charged upon him as an Offence; he was allowed to be the proper Judge whether that was to be done or not. But then, as he maintained his own Right

Right and Authority with relation to the Spiritual Censure passed upon *Arius* for his Heresy, so he allowed the Emperor to be the Temporal Judge, in relation to the Worldly Punishment annexed to the same Cause, and blamed not *Constantine* for recalling him from Banishment, notwithstanding he had not in his Opinion sufficiently retracted his Error, or renounced his Heresy. Thus both *Athanasius* and *Constantine*, in their respective Spheres, judged the same Person for the same Offence; they gave different Judgments, the one Spiritual, the other Temporal, and both had their Effect. *Arius* still continued bound by the Censures of the Church, because *Athanasius* refused to absolve him; but was released from his Banishment, because *Constantine* had thought fit to recall him. The Bishop could not continue *Arius* in his Banishment, neither could the Emperor restore him to the Peace of the Church. Indeed, *Constantine*, urged by the *Eusebian* Faction, who had worked themselves into his Favour, did proceed so far as to command *Athanasius* to restore him, and to threaten him if he would not; but though *Athanasius* persisted in his Refusal, *Constantine* did not take upon him to do it himself. And afterwards, when *Arius* came to *Constantinople*, and there the *Eusebian* Party had resolved to force *Alexander*, the Bishop of that Place, to receive him; just as they were carrying him into the Church by Violence, against that Bishop's Consent, God himself was pleased to interpose, and in a miraculous Manner to vindicate the Honour of his Servant, who refused to receive that *Arch-Heretick* to Communion, though required to do it by the Emperor. For as *Arius* was triumphantly going towards the Church, attended by the *Eusebian* Faction, like Guards, through the midst of the City; insomuch that the Eyes of all People were upon him: When he came near that Place which is called *Constantine's Forum*, where the

Pillar of Porphyric stood, a conscious Terror, accompanied with a Looseness, seized *Arius* himself; whereupon, he enquired for an House-of-Office, and being told there was one behind Constantine's Forum, he retired thither. A Fainting-fitt seized him, and together with his Excrements, his Fundament also fell down, and a great Flux of Blood followed, and his Small Guts and Blood gushed out, together with his Spleen and Livor; whereupon he immediately died. Thus, whilst the Emperor acted only in his own Sphere, and judged as a Temporal Magistrate, whether *Arius* ought to be continued in his Banishment or not, though it was for a Spiritual Crime, the Bishops made no Opposition; but when he broke those Bounds, and took upon him to determine that *Arius* ought to be received into the Communion of the Church, and though he would not pretend that it belonged to him to absolve him, yet attempted to oblige the Bishop to do it by Secular Force; then God thought fit to interpose, and by inflicting a most signal Judgment upon *Arius* himself, who had been the prime Cause of all these Disturbances, shewed that the Bishop, and not the Emperor, was the proper Judge whom he should admit into the Communion of the Church. Thus then we see, how the Emperor or King is Supreme Governor in all Causes, as well Spiritual as Temporal; that is, his Power, in what Cause soever, is only Civil or Temporal, and he can only determine whether that Person, whose Cause he tries, deserves to be punished with the Civil Sword or not, which is all the Power, that according to the Declaration in our own Articles, our Kings challenge to themselves, viz. to punish, with the Civil Sword, the stubborn and Evil-doers, of what Nature soever the Cause be, whether Spiritual or Temporal.

§ XVIII. And this Right of Princes to judge, with relation to *Spiritual Causes*, in a Civil Manner, that is, to judge whether they deserve a Civil Punishment or a Civil Encouragement, is not peculiar to *Christian Princes*, but is the undoubted Right of all Sovereigns whatsoever, and whatsoever Religion they are of; and was allowed to be so even by the Apostles themselves. Thus (2) when S. Paul was carried before *Felix* the Roman Governor, and afterwards before *Festus*, though he was called in Question concerning an Article of Faith, even the *Ressurection of Christ*, (which was certainly a Spiritual Cause) yet the Event of the Tryal being only to have the Governor's Judgment whether he should be kept in Bonds and receive farther Punishment, or whether he should be released; he made no Exceptions to the Jurisdiction, but acknowledged that he stood at *Cesar's Judgment Seat*, where he ought to be judged, and therefore readily answer'd for himself, and gave an Account how, and in what manner he was called to his Apostleship by a Voice from Heaven, and how God had sent him to preach that Doctrine; and appealed to *Cesar* himself to determine whether he deserved a Temporal Penalty for doing that which a greater than *Cesar* had commissioned him to do. It is true, *Felix* acted the Part of an unjust Judge in not releasing him, but leaving him in Bonds to please the *Jews*; yet forasmuch as he did release him, and his Successor *Festus* seemed inclinable to tread in his Steps, to curry Favour with the *Jews*, S. Paul did not pretend to have any Authority to release himself by his Spiritual Power, or to require those who were under his Spiritual Government to take up Arms to deliver him out of Prison, but made his

^{not}

Appeal to *Casar*, as the Supreme Judge, who ought to determine concerning all Temporal Punishments, for what Cause soever to be inflicted. But which way soever *Casar* judged in that Matter, his Decree could have only a Civil Temporal Effect; he had it in his Power to keep S. *Paul* a Prisoner if he thought fit, or to put him to Death, or to enlarge him; the Apostle was in his Hands, and as he was his Subject could not employ the Civil Sword against him: But all this had no Effect upon S. *Paul's* Spiritual Power; he was nevertheless an Apostle of *Jesus Christ*, his Preaching, his Ministration of the Sacraments, his Spiritual Censures, his Episcopal or Apostolical Letters, which he wrote, during his Imprisonment, to divers Churches or single Persons, were of as full Authority, as if he had been at large, and *Casar* himself had protected and encouraged him in the Performance of those Ministrations.

Princes ought to be very tender and careful how they take upon them to judge about Temporal Punishments for *Spiritual Causes*; for if they give a wrong Judgment, and condemn those whom *Christ* has sent to act in his Name, that is, if they inflict Temporal Penalties on them for exercising their Spiritual Power, according to the Commission they have received from our Blessed Saviour, they will be found to fight against God: And though those Bishops and Pastors, or other good Cristians who suffer under them, are barred from lifting up an Hand against them to avenge themselves; yet God will not fail to take Vengeance of them in some other Way, as he did of *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, *Dioclesian*, *Galerius*, *Maximin*, *Licinius*, *Julian*, and others that raised a Persecution against his Church.

§ XIX. It may perhaps be said, that according to our Laws Appeals may be made from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from him to the King in his High

High Court of Chancery, who shall appoint Delegates to re-examine the Matter, though the Cause be purely Spiritual, and that Determination shall be final. Consequently, the King is *Supreme Spiritual Judge*, as well as *Temporal*; for this Court may reverse even the *Spiritual Judgment of Excommunication*. To this it may be answered, that our Laws having annex'd a *Temporal Penalty* to the Sentence of *Excommunication* pronounced by the Spiritual Judge, it is but reasonable, that the King should enquire into the Cause for which he is to inflict a *Temporal Punishment*, and to satisfy himself in the Justice of the Proceedings. The Judgment of the Court of *Delegates* is therefore expedient and reasonable to satisfy the Prince, whether he shall proceed to fine, imprison, or outlaw the Person whom the Church has censured; because those are Punishments which he and only he can execute, nor has the Spiritual Judge any Authority to require him to execute any of them, but as he sees it fit himself. But I do not conceive, that this Court can so take off the Censure in a pure Spiritual Cause, as to restore a Person to the Communion of the Church, whether the Bishop will or not. Yet whatever they may do in *Foro Externo*, where the Civil Magistrate bears the Sword, and will do what he pleases, such a Determination proceeding only from the Prince in a Matter of which God has not made him the Judge, cannot bind in *Foro Interno*, or give Satisfaction to the Conscience. Neither is it my Purpose upon this Occasion to vindicate all the Laws of this Realm, or to shew that any of them are not agreeable to the Laws of God. Whatever they are, private Persons (and such are even the chief Spiritual Governors with relation to the State) must submit to them actively or passively: Where they are not contrary to the Law of God, or to that Authority which is derived from Christ alone as Sole Head of his Church, we ought to yield an entire

entire active Obedience to them: But where they are contrary to the Law of God, or to the Authority of *Jesus Christ*, we must, as we shall be thereto called, bear our Testimony against them, and obey God and his Christ rather than Man: Though at the same time, as becomes Martyrs and Confessors, we dare not lift up an Hand against the Authority, by which that Law is made or executed, but must chearfully submit to the Temporal Penalty it lays us under. For what is it to be a Martyr or Confessor, but to bear Testimony to the Truths of the Gospel against any Humane Law or Force opposing them, and at the same time patiently to suffer the Penalty which that Law or Force shall lay us under? And this would be our Duty, upon Supposition that any of our Laws were *Erastian*, when such Laws should be put in Execution against us.

§ XX. But farther, by the Doctrine of the Book of *Homilies*, which, by Act of Parliament, is made the Law of the Land, if any Humane Law be opposite to the Law of God, it is not to be obey'd. Therefore, in particular, even by our Laws, if there be any Law of the Land which is repugnant to the Law of God, it is not to be obeyed. For, in the second Part of the Sermon of Good Works, the following Doctrine is taught. *This Arrogancy God detected, that Man should so advance his Laws, to make them equal with God's Laws, wherein the true Honouring and Worshipping of God standeth, and to make his Laws for them to be left off. God hath appointed his Laws, wherein his Pleasure is to be honoured: His Pleasure is also, That all Mens Laws, not being contrary unto his Laws, shall be obeyed, and kept as good and necessary for every Commonwealth; but not as Things wherein principally his Honour resteth, and all Civil or Man's Laws either be or should be made, to bring Men better to keep God's Laws, that, consequently or followingly, God should be the better honoured*

noured by them. Therefore, if I shew that Spiritual Governors have a Jurisdiction or Authority committed to their Trust by the Law of God, (which being a Trust, cannot by them be alienated to the Civil Powers) in proving this, I also at the same time prove it to be the Law of this Realm. But the Law of this Realm has not only thus declared that *the Law of God is above all Humane Laws whatsoever*; but has also particularly declared, that the Church has a *Spiritual Power* and *Authority* within itself, which it may exercise even over the greatest Persons themselves, Kings or Emperors not excepted: And consequently must be such a Power as is not derived from the Civil Magistrate; for a Power derived from the Magistrate cannot be exercised over him from whom it is derived. Thus *in the Second Part of the Sermon of the Right Use of the Church*, after the mentioning our Saviour's Whipping the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, this Doctrine is declared to result from it: *According to this Example of our Saviour, in the Primitive Church, which was most Holy and Godly, and in which due Discipline with Severity was used against the Wicked; open Offenders were not suffered once to enter into the House of the Lord, nor admitted to Common-prayer, and the Use of the Holy Sacraments with other true Christians, until they had done open Penance before the whole Church; and this was practised, not only upon mean Persons, but upon the Rich, Noble, and Mighty Persons; yea, upon Theodosius, that Puissant and Mighty Emperor, whom for committing a grievous and wilful Murder, S. Ambrose Bishop of Milan reproved sharply, and did also Excommunicate the said Emperor, and brought him to open Penance; and they that were so justly exempted and banished (as it were) from the House of the Lord, were taken (as they be indeed) for Men divided and separated from Christ's Church, and in most dangerous Estate; yea, as S. Paul saith, even given unto*

unto Satan the Devil for a time, and their Company was shunned and avoided of all godly Men and Women, until such time as they, by Repentance and Publick Penance, were reconciled. That is, all godly Men and Women shunned Communion with them as with Christians, but the Censures of the Church were never supposed to make void any Natural or Civil Relations. And *Theodosius* the Emperor, whilst he was excluded from Communion by S. *Ambrose*, exercised his whole Imperial Authority, as he did before or after; neither his Council, nor any of his Subjects declined his Company in any Civil Sense, but resorted to him, and receiv'd his Directions and Commands in the same Manner as they had been wont to do; he was only kept from the Publick Prayers and Sacraments of the Church, and was not permitted to associate with the Godly Christians, when they met to celebrate Divine Offices. I thought proper to make this Observation, because the Adversaries to the Independency of the Church generally misrepresent this Church-Censure of Excommunication, as if it deprived Men of their Civil Rights, or pretended to hinder other Persons from performing those Duties to the Person excommunicated, which he might claim from them by any Natural or Civil Right. For the Spiritual Censure affects not any Natural or Civil Rights, and if any of those are affected by it according to our Constitution, that flows purely from the Law of the State, and therefore the Civil Magistrate is allow'd to be the proper Judge how far any Civil Rights shall be affected by it. Consequently, whenever such a Spiritual Censure is executed on a Supreme Magistrate, as it was on the Emperor *Theodosius*, they can have no other than a pure Spiritual Effect: As indeed it can have upon no other Person whatsoever, otherwise than the Civil Laws, of which the Magistrate is the Judge, may annex Temporal Penalties to it.

§ XXI. And not only our *Homilies*, whose Doctrine, as I have shewed, is the Law of the Land confirm'd by Statute as well as the Doctrine of this Church, establish'd by the Bishops and Clergy in Synod or Convocation, assert the pure Spiritual Powers of the Church Independent on the Civil Powers, and that it may be exercised even upon the greatest Persons; but the same is owned even in the Body of an Act of Parliament, where both Lords and Commons have acknowledged, that neither they nor the King claimed any Spiritual Power, but only a Civil Power. (a) Thus when an Act was made by King Henry VIII (when the Regal Authority in Spiritual Matters was stretched to the height) concerning Peter-pence and Dispensations, it was in express Terms provided, That this *Act*, nor any *Thing* or *Things* therein contained, shall not be hereafter interpreted or expounded, that your Grace, your Nobles and Subjects, intend by the same to decline or vary from the Congregation of Christ's Church, in any *Things* concerning the very Articles of the Catholick Faith of Christendom, or in any other *Things* declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God, necessary for your and their Salvations; but only to make an Ordinance, by Policies necessary and convenient, to repress Vice, and for the good Conservation of the Realms in Peace, Unity and Tranquility, from Ravin and Spoil, ensuing much the old, ancient Customs of this Realm in that Behalf, not minding to seek for any Relief, Succours, or Remedies for any Worldly *Things*, but, within this Realm, at the Hands of your Highness, your Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm; which have and ought to have an Imperial Power and Authority in the same, and not obliged in any Worldly Causes to any Superior. Here I think it is evident, that

(a) 25 Hen. 8. Cap. 21. §. 19.

the King, Lords and Commons, the whole Legislative as well as Executive Power of this Realm, claims no Authority in other than *in Worldly Things or Causes*, and that they would not have the Act which they then made to be interpreted or expounded to intend more, consequently they disclaimed all Judicature *in Spiritual Things and Causes*, where *Worldly Things and Causes* are not affected by them: As indeed they are not, by such Matters wherein the Church justly claims a Jurisdiction as derived from Christ. For the Spiritual Power which is claimed by the Church, affects only those Matters which concern *Articles of the Catholick Faith of Christendom and other Things declared by the Holy Scripture and the Word of God to be necessary to Salvation*: Which Things are in this Act disclaimed by the Civil Power; and they will not have any thing decreed by them to be interpreted or expounded to intend any such Thing. And though the same is not declared in all other Acts which concern Religion or Religious Persons, yet being thus disclaimed in this Act, which remains to this Day unrepealed, it is plainly implied in all others: And proves, that the Supreme Power of this Realm claims no other than a Civil Authority over all Persons with relation to all Causes, and a Right to judge when and where Civil Penalties shall be inflicted, and as it is expressed in the Thirty seventh Article (confirm'd also by Act of Parliament) *to restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil Doers.* And this Civil Authority of the Magistrate is and was always allowed to belong to him, and to him only, whether he was Heathen or Christian. Our Saviour and his Apostles submitted to it, neither did they deny his Jurisdiction to judge whether they had done any thing which might deserve Death or Bonds, or any other Temporal Penalty. And so also did the Primitive Christians under the Heathen Emperors. They complain indeed of the Unrighteousness

ousness of the Judgments given against them, but never deny'd or excepted against the Jurisdiction of their Judges. But it is only the Civil Authority of the Magistrate was allowed or acknowledged in those Days, all Spiritual Power under *Christ* was then believed and owned to be in the Bishops and Pastors of the Church; nor did the Emperor pretend to it. And as no Subjects of the State were more obedient to Kings and Temporal Magistrates, so no Subjects of the Church were ever more obedient to their Spiritual Governors than the Primitive Christians, having both the Example and Precept of *Christ*, and his Apostles for this double Obedience.

§ XXII. Our Blessed Saviour, though he renounced all Civil Power, as has been already observed, and was himself subject to it, yet exercised his Spiritual Authority without asking any Licence from the Civil Magistrate on that Occasion, made and baptized Multitudes of Disciples, and out of them chose twelve Apostles, and after that seventy others whom he sent to preach the Gospel and bring more into his Church, and commanded Obedience to them, saying, (c) *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* And he also threatens the severest Judgments to those that shall be disobedient and not hearken to those sent by him, saying, (d) *whoever shall not receive you, and hear your Words, when ye depart out of that House or City, shake off the Dust of your Feet. Verily I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the Land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the Day of Judgment, than for that City.* St. Paul also, though he acknowledged the Magistrates Civil Jurisdiction and his Authority to judge, whether he would inflict a Temporal Penalty on him or not, yet claimed a Spi-

(c) *Luke x. 16.*(d) *Mat. x. 14, 15.*

ritual Jurisdiction to himself as derived from Christ and independent on the Magistrate, and by virtue of this Authority he threatens the (e) *Corinthians*, and asks them if they will that he shall come unto them with a Rod, or in Love and the Spirit of Meekness. And tells them also, that he (f) writes these things being absent, lest being present he should use Sharpness, according to the Power which the Lord had given him to Edification and not to Destruction. Here he plainly claims a Power, not given him by the Civil Magistrate, but by the Lord, that is, by Christ: And his Precepts were also agreeable to his Practice: For as in the thirteenth Chapter to the *Romans* he very strictly enjoins Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, so in other Places he enjoins Obedience to the Spiritual Governors, saying, (g) *Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and esteem them very highly in Love for their Works sake.* (h) *Remember them which have the Rule over you, who have spoken unto you the Word of God: whose Faith follow, considering the End of their Conversation.* Obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit yourselves: For they watch four your Souls, as they that must give Account: That they may do it with Joy, and not with Grief; for that is unprofitable for you. And he himself, by virtue of his Authority received from Christ, appointed these Spiritual Rulers, without asking the Civil Magistrates Commission for it, (i) *ordaining Elders in every Church.* And not only did this himself, but commissioned others to do the same, as we learn from his Words to *Titus*, to whom he says, (k) *For this Cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in Order the Things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I*

(e) 1 Cor. iv. 21. (f) 2 Cor. xiii. 10. (g) 1 Thess. v.
12, 13. (h) Heb. xiii. 7. 17. (i) Act. xiv. 23.
(k) Tit. i. 5.

appointed thee. Therefore, for Men to say, that there cannot be two Independent Powers, the one Spiritual and the other Temporal in the same Place ; and that the same Person cannot be subject to one Man in Spirituals and to another in Temporals, is directly contrary both to our Saviour's Doctrine and Practice, and to that of his Apostles also, and is confuted by plain Facts testified by the Holy Scriptures. And Matter of Fact is a sensible Demonstration. And therefore they must either deny the Fact, they must deny the Scriptures and Christianity itself, or must grant that two Independent Powers, the one Spiritual, and the other Temporal, may exist at the same Time and in the same Place, and be exercised over the same Persons : For we have the same Evidence for this that we have for Christianity itself. Neither is it in any Respect contrary to Reason : For what should hinder but the same Man may be subject to his Bishop and his King at the same Time, and when guilty of an Offence, liable to be punished by both, by his King corporally, and his Bishop spiritually? Thus for Instance, Suppose a Man is guilty of Theft : He may and ought to be punish'd in the King's Courts according as the Law in that Case shall direct ; but this does not hinder but that he may and ought also to receive a Spiritual Correction from his Pastor, to be reproved, rebuked and exhorted by him, and to be denied the Benefit of the Body and Blood of Christ, till he give sufficient Testimonies of his sincere Repentance ; nay, his Pastor ought to treat him in that Manner even though he should be pardoned by the Prince. And I conceive it must be manifest to every Body that such Proceeding of the Pastor no way impedes or interferes with the Prince's Authority : For if the Prince sees it fit to punish such an Offender according to the utmost Severity of the Laws, and the Pastor at the same time sees it convenient, upon due Testimonies given of sincere Repentance,

to declare and pronounce to him the Pardon and Remission of his Sins, and to sign and seal that Pardon by communicating to him the Representative Body and Blood of *Christ*; or if the Magistrate shall see it expedient entirely to pardon the Offence, and to restore him to all the Rights and Privileges he before enjoy'd; but at the same time the Pastor thinks it proper to deny him the Absolution of the Church, and to admit him to the Participation of the Body and Blood of *Christ*, because he has not seen such due Testimonies of Repentance as he judges to be necessary on such an Occasion, both Powers, Spiritual and Temporal, are then duly exercised on the same Person and in the same Cause, and yet one does not at all interfere with the other. Such Proceeding as this can raise no Dissention between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers, whilst they are both thus kept within their proper Bounds. But if the Temporal Magistrate will also pretend to a Spiritual Power, and because he sees it expedient to pardon the Malefactor the Temporal Punishment due to his Crimes, shall therefore judge and determine that his Spiritual Governor must also give him the Absolution of the Church, and administer the Body and Blood of *Christ* to him as a Seal of that Absolution, or shall either pretend to give such Absolution himself, or to force the Spiritual Governor to do it, or persecute him for his Refusal; Or if on the other hand the Spiritual Governor, because he sees the Man has given due Testimonies of his Repentance, and for that Reason judges it fit to giye him the full Absolution of the Church, shall therefore require the Magistrate to remit the Temporal Punishment due to such Crimes, or shall either pretend himself to pardon such Temporal Punishment, or to oblige the Magistrate to do it by threatening him with Spiritual Censures, if he refuses; in such a Case indeed the two Powers will plainly interfere with each other. But the Cause of

this is not that the two Powers cannot exist independent on each other ; but because those who have the Exercise of these two Powers are not contented with the Boundaries set to each Power, but will make Encroachments one upon the other : Whereas when each keeps within his proper Bounds, they may, and will not only exist very well together, but will mutually preserve and support each other. Thus the Spiritual Governors will support the Civil Magistrate by teaching the several Flocks committed to their Charge the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, and enforcing the Practice of them by threatening the Penalty of Damnation : And the Civil Magistrate will support and protect the Church by making Laws in its Favour, and corroborating her Decrees and Canons by his Temporal Authority. But if the Magistrate will exercise a Spiritual Power, and take upon him to minister the Word and Sacraments, and to judge when and to whom they shall be ministered; or the Spiritual Governors shall challenge a Temporal Power independent on the Magistrate, and pretend to judge and determine when Civil Penalties shall be inflicted ; then indeed two Independent Powers acting in such Manner will not subsist together, without frequent Contentions ; but these Contests cannot arise from the Powers themselves, but from the Usurpations of one Power upon the other ; for, let each keep within the Bounds of his own Power, and not usurp upon the other, and there will be no interfering.

§ XXIII. Again, as these two Powers are thus plainly distinct, and may very well exist together independent of each other in the Exercise of their several Powers on the same Person and in the same Causes, and were plainly so designed to be by our Saviour, so also are they independent with regard to the granting Spiritual or Temporal Commissions. For as a Bishop can give no Temporal Commission, or author-

authorize any Person to execute a Temporal Office; so neither can the Civil Magistrate give a Spiritual Commission, or ordain any Person to a Spiritual Office in the Church: And as they cannot give, so neither can they deprive any one of such Office as it belongs not to them to bestow. The Civil Magistrate can no more take away the Office of a *Bishop*, *Priest* or *Deacon*, than any one of those can deprive him of his Office. *Festus* had certainly no more Power or lawful Authority to deprive St. *Paul* of his Apostleship, than St. *Paul* had to deprive him of his Presidency of *Judea*: Neither had *Festus* any more Power to make St. *Paul* an Apostle, than St. *Paul* had to make him a President or Procurator of a Province. And as the Magistrate cannot give or take away a Spiritual Office, so neither can he forbid a Spiritual Officer the Exercise of his Office; (*l*) for when the *Sunhedrim* of the Jews called the Apostles, *Peter* and *John*, before them, and forbade them the Exercise of their Apostleship, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the Name of Jesus, *Peter* and *John* answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. And again, when they were taken up (*m*) and examined, why they had not obeyed this Command, Then *Peter* and the other Apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than Men. And though (*n*) they were beaten for this Answer, and again commanded, that they should not speak in the Name of Jesus; yet they judged it their Duty not to obey in this Case, And they departed from the Presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer Shame for his Name. And daily in the Temple and in every House they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ. Nor let it be said, that though the Apostles might thus exercise their Commission,

(*l*) *Act.* iv. 18, 19.

(*m*) *Act.* v. 29.

(*n*) *Act.* v. 40, 41, 42.

though

though forbidden by the Civil Power, yet it does not follow, that other Ministers of the Gospel may do the same, because the Apostles were immediately sent by Christ himself; but those who come after them are not so sent. For the Commission which Christ gave to his Apostles was not Personal to them only, but to them and their Successors, as appears from the very Commission itself, wherein (o) he promises to be with them *always, even to the end of the World.* What Christ therefore committed to them, the same did they commit to others, giving them Commandment to commit the same to others also after them in a continued Succession. Thus particularly St. Paul (p) committed this Charge to his Son Timothy, and commanded him to give Attendance to reading, to Exhortation and to Doctrine, not to neglect the Gift that was in him, which was given him by Prophecy with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery. And likewise directs him to give the same Commission to others, saying, (q) *The Things that thou hast heard of me among many Witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful Men, who shall be able to teach others also.* And Ecclesiastical History shews, that these Successors of the Apostles were forbidden the Exercise of their Ministry as well as the Apostles themselves had been; and yet that they did not forbear to preach and teach in the Name of Christ, and to minister his Sacraments and execute his Discipline, notwithstanding those Prohibitions. A sure Argument, that they did not think the Civil Magistrate had any Authority either to deprive them of their Ministry, or to forbid the Exercise of it: For they endured ten severe Persecutions, rather than submit to such Civil Deprivations and Prohibitions; and God shewed his Approbation of their Conduct in this Matter, not only by giving them Grace and Strength to suffer the

(o) Mat. xxviii. 20.

(p) 1 Tim. i. 18. and iv. 13, 14.

(q) 2 Tim. ii. 2.

greatest

greatest Tortures for his Name's sake, with a most undaunted Courage and Constancy, but also enabling them to work Miracles, and to conquer by their Sufferings : So that instead of being suppressed and quelled by these violent Persecutions, they increased and multiplied till they had brought even their Enemies into the Church, and those that most hated and persecuted them became their great Friends and Protectors.

§ XXIV. Indeed after the Empire was come into the Church, and Princes and States had given large Endowments to it, and had vested the Bishops with many Civil Privileges, then indeed they thought it proper to know before-hand on whom such Privileges should be bestowed, and took upon them to nominate or recommend fit Persons to those Bishopricks they had endowed, as others of the Laity also nominated or recommended a fit Person to be made the Minister or Priest of such a Parish-Church as he had endowed with Manse and Glebe. But as the Patron of a Parish Church never pretended to give his Clerk whom he nominated, or presented to a Parochial Cure, a Spiritual Commission, or to vest him with the Cure of Souls, or give him the Orders of Priesthood ; so when a Prince or State nominated or recommended a Person to a Bishoprick, they never pretended to make him a Bishop, but only presented him to the Bishops as one whom they judged a fit Person to be advanced to such an Office. But in one Case as well as the other, if the Bishop or Bishops to whom such Person was recommended or nominated to be made a Priest or a Bishop, did not see fit to ordain or consecrate him to that Office, the Patron, King or State did not pretend to make him a Priest or Bishop notwithstanding. And as we have many Instances of a Bishop's refusing to ordain a Man Priest, who has been recommended or nominated by a Patron to a Parochial Cure, so we want not

not Instances of Persons who have been nominated to Bishopricks by Sovereign Princes whom the Metropolitan and College of Bishops have refused to consecrate ; and he that has been so refused was forced to continue what he was before ; the Prince could not make him a Bishop. But although Recommendation or Nomination will not make a Bishop or Priest without Consecration or Ordination, yet Consecration or Ordination will make a Priest or Bishop without any Recommendation or Nomination ; and Priests are to this Day frequently made so ; and so were Bishops also in the Primitive Church both before and after the Empire became Christian ; Christian Princes having no more Right to grant a Spiritual Power or Commission than an Heathen Emperor. But any Prince, whether Christian or Infidel, may recommend or nominate a Man to be made a Priest or a Bishop, and there is no Harm in the Bishops accepting and ordaining him, if they find him qualified for the Office. But then it is not the Prince, but the Metropolitan or the College of Bishops that makes such Person a Bishop. Sovereign Princes, whatever they be, will have that Influence over Bishops, their Subjects, that they will not lightly refuse what they ask of them ; and upon this Account when Sovereign Princes had obliged their Bishops by their liberal Endowments of the Church, the Bishops would not lightly refuse to consecrate whomsoever they recommended or nominated to them. And when such Nomination was become a Custom, then Princes began to challenge it as their undoubted Right : And the Bishops having so long complied with it, knew not at last how to recede from it. And at this time, as our Laws now stand, they cannot recede from it without incurring a grievous Temporal Penalty,

§ XXV. However, though Bishops are now thus nominated by the Temporal Magistrate, yet forasmuch as such Nomination neither does nor can make them Bishops, but they are so made by a regular Consecration or Ordination, as appears from what has been already said, and also from the very Form of Consecration in our Liturgy, where the Archbishop says to the Person to be consecrated, *Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands,* it is evident, that our Bishops have the same Spiritual Power which the Apostles and Primitive Bishops had, and hold it Independent on the Civil Magistrate, without deriving any part of it from him. His Episcopal Office and his Spiritual Relation to his Flock are still conferred upon him by the Spiritual Governors of the Church. The Metropolitan, as Head of the Episcopal College, or four Bishops, in case there be no Metropolitan, confirm the Person nominated and elected, and thereby give him the Spiritual Government of that See to which they so appoint him by that Confirmation; and if he have not been consecrated before, they also then consecrate him to the Episcopal Office. Thus every Bishop of our Church receives all his Spiritual Power and his Spiritual Relation to his Flock from the Spiritual Governors of the Church only: For without this be done by them all, the Temporal Powers of the World are not able to vest him with a Spiritual Authority over any People whatsoever. They may recommend, they may nominate, and whether the Bishops will consecrate him or not, if they are resolv'd to stretch and abuse their Power, they have Strength to put him in Possession of the Episcopal House; nay, and the Cathedral or Episcopal Church too; they can fine, imprison, or even put to Death the Bishops who have refused to confirm and consecrate

consecrate him; but all this cannot make him a Bishop, or give him any Spiritual Authority over the People they would have to be committed to his Charge. The People would lie under no Obligation to receive the Word and Sacraments at his Hands, or at the Hands of any that should pretend to be his Presbyters: Nay, if such pretended Bishop or any Presbyters pretendedly ordain'd by him, should presume to minister the Word and Sacraments, they would be guilty of the highest Profanation of these Divine Ordinances: And the People which knowingly receive them at their Hands would reap only a Curse and not a Blessing from them. And therefore even King Henry VIII. who would be called Supreme Head of the Church, (r) (*a Name*, which his Daughter Elizabeth declar'd, could not be given to any mortal Man, and therefore refused herself to be so called) never pretended (as has been already observed) to make a Bishop himself, if the Bishops should refuse to consecrate him. All that he thought himself capable of doing in that Case was to punish the Bishops who should refuse the Man he or his Successors should nominate. It is true this is a great Stretch of the Temporal Power, and such as former Ages have no Precedent for; but still it gives no Spiritual Power to the King: For if all the Bishops should ever have the Courage to face a *Pramunire*, upon the Nomination of an unworthy Person to a Bishoprick, all the Power of the King-

(r) *Regina non vult appellari aut scribi, Caput Ecclesie Anglicane: graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli esse attributam Christo: nemini autem mortalium convenire.*
See a Letter of Bishop Suell's to Bullinger, dated May 22, 1559; that is in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, publish'd by Bishop Burnet in the 3d Volume of his History among the Records, Book 6. Num. 48. And by Stype in his Appendix to his History of the Reformation, Num. 20.

dom cannot make him a Bishop. And if the Bishops who refuse to consecrate such a Person should suffer the Penalty of the Laws for so doing, they would suffer not as disobedient rebellious Subjects, but as Confessors or Martyrs. And the Prince who should execute this Law upon them in such a Case where the Person nominated was apparently unworthy or unqualified for the Office, would be a Persecutor of the Church of God: And though no Power in this World could call him to an Account for it (for the Apostles and Primitive Christians never pretended they could depose an Emperor because he persecuted them) yet he would be liable to the just Vengeance of God, and answer for it in the other World. But if the Person be worthy or well qualify'd for the Office of a Bishop, the Nomination of the Prince can by no means make him less worthy or less fit for that Office. And therefore so long as Princes name only those that are worthy and qualified (though possibly others might be found more worthy or better qualified) it is no Fault in the Bishops to receive and consecrate them, and so to commit the Spiritual Power to them.

§ XXVI. And as it is thus evident that a Prince or Civil Magistrate can give no Spiritual Power to a Bishop, or vest him with the Spiritual Care of a Diocese or Bishoprick, but he must receive that Power from the Bishops of the Church; so it is no less evident that when he is vested with such a Power he cannot deprive him of it, or take it from him during his Life. His Authority will be the same as to all Spiritual Matters, and his Spiritual Acts as valid after any such pretended Deprivation as they were before it: And the People which were committed to his Charge by the Authority of the Episcopal College will be as much obliged to acknowledge him for their chief Governor in Spirituals as ever they were. Indeed

deed the Temporalities and Revenues of a Bishoprick being outward and visible Things, may happen in Fact to be taken from a Bishop, even as any Man's Estate may happen to be taken from him, though he have never so good a Right to it : That is, it may be taken or detained from him by unjust Force and Violence. And when a Bishop's Temporalities are so taken and detained, he cannot repel that unjust Force by any outward compulsory Method otherwise than by applying to the Civil Magistrate for his Protection and Assistance. And therefore though our Kings as Protectors and Guardians of the Church, when a Bishoprick is vacant, take the Temporalities into their own Hands till the College of Bishops have filled the See : Yet the Bishop who is so put into that See sues the Temporalities out of the King's Hands as of Right belonging to him : And if the King will not then deliver them to him, he is guilty of the same Injustice, at least, as if he detained any other Person's Estate which of Right belonged to him. And a like Act of Injustice will that King be guilty of who shall seize the Temporalities of a Bishoprick and take them into his own Possession, or give them to another, whilst the Bishop to whom they were granted is living, and has a just Claim to them. And thus the Independency of the Church upon the State as to its pure Spiritual Powers is very plainly preserved amongst us, notwithstanding that our Bishops are nominated by the King, and use to receive their Temporalities or Revenues from him, and to pay him Homage for them. For though the King nominate the Person, and gives him the Lands and Lordships belonging to his See, yet it is the Metropolitan or other Bishops only that give him his Spiritual Power and a Spiritual Jurisdiction over that Flock which they commit to his Charge. And for this Reason, when a Bishop is consecrated and appointed to his Charge, he from that time becomes the

the Spiritual Father of his Diocese, and the People are obliged to receive the Word and Sacraments at his Hands and at the Hands of his Presbyters, although the King should refuse to vest him with the Lands and Lordships belonging to his Bishoprick : And the Case is the same if the King should afterwards think convenient by Act of Parliament, or by a Judgment in any of his Courts to divest or deprive him of any or of all those Lands and Lordships, or other Revenues which may have been settled on the Bishoprick : He will still continue the rightful Pastor of that Flock, he will be the true Bishop and Spiritual Father of that People, and they will be obliged to receive the Word and Sacraments from him and his Presbyters, and from no other in Opposition to him, notwithstanding any such Deprivation or Divestment ; for the Spiritual Relation of a Pastor to his Flock has no Dependance on his Temporal Revenues : (s) For though *the Lord hath ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel*, yet if the Pastor have no Maintenance from those to whom he preaches the Gospel, this does not by any means deprive him of his Spiritual Relation to his Flock. St. Paul, though he told the *Corinthians*, that he had such a Right to a Maintenance from them, yet at the same time declared, that *he had used none of these Things* ; that is, had received no Temporal Subsistence from them ; but says he, (t) *I robbed other Churches, taking Wages of them, to do you Service. And when I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no Man : For that which was Lacking to me the Brethren which came from Macedonia supplied : and in all Things I have kept my self from being burthenesom unto you, and so will I keep my self.* And yet he insisted upon his Spiritual Relation to them as their only Father

(s) 1 Cor. ix. 14.

(t) 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9.

in Christ, notwithstanding his receiving no Temporal Advantage by it, saying, (u) *Though ye have ten thousand Instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many Fathers: For in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel. Wherefore I beseech you be ye Followers of me.* Which is an evident Proof that the Spiritual Relation a Bishop bears to his Flock has no Dependance upon the Maintenance to be receiv'd from that Flock. And that although God have given the Bishop a Right to such Maintenance, yet if he has it not, he is no less the Father of that Flock than if he had it. Consequently when a Bishop (of this Realm for Instance) is vested by the Metropolitan to whom the Spiritual Power of every vacant Diocese devolves, he from that time becomes the Spiritual Father of that Diocese, and the People are obliged to obey him in Spirituals even before the King has restored the Temporalties to him. Which is an Evidence that even according to our own Constitution the Spiritual Relation of a Bishop to his Flock has no Dependance upon the Crown, or the Civil Magistrate. They are distinct Things, and upon every Vacancy are under the Guardianship of different Powers. For as upon the Death of a Bishop the Guardianship of the Temporalties of the Bishoprick is taken by the King as the Sovereign Protector of all Worldly Things, whether they belong to the Church or the State, so the Spiritualties devolve to the Metropolitan as Head of the Episcopal College; or if there be no Metropolitan, they devolve in these latter Centuries to the *Metropolitical Chapter* as Guardians of the Spiritualties for that time. And as the Metropolitan now lays no Claim to the Guardianship of the Temporalties, so neither does the King or any other Civil Magistrate lay any Claim to the

(u) *1 Cor. iv. 15, 16.*

Spiritualties of a vacant Bishoprick. Consequently if the King or the whole State assembled in Parliament, take upon them to deprive a Bishop, such Deprivation cannot affect his Spiritualties which they lay no Claim to, even in a Vacancy. It can only deprive him of their Protection as to the actual keeping the Possession of his Temporalties: His Spiritual Relation to his Diocese, and his Spiritual Power over it, has another Original, being derived to him directly from Christ himself, and conveyed to him by Imposition of Spiritual Hands in a regular Succession. The People of that Diocese are still obliged to adhere to him as their Spiritual Father, notwithstanding the Temporal Magistrate has thought fit to take away the Revenues belonging to his See and to give them to another.

§ XXVII. It is the Apostle's Command, that the People should know, receive and adhere to their Bishop or chief Spiritual Father. And therefore when St. Paul sent home Epaphroditus (*w*) the Bishop of the Philippians to his Flock, he required them to receive him in the Lord with all Gladness; and to hold such in Reputation. For that Epaphroditus was their Bishop or chief Spiritual Governor is manifest from what goes before, where he says, *I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my Brother and Companion in Labour and Fellow-Soldier, but your Apostle.* For those whom we now call Bishops were in the first Age of the Church called Apostles, (*x*) as I have elsewhere proved. For it is evident from the Scriptures, that the Apostles were the chief Governors of the Church, as the Bishops have been ever since their Times: And that not only the Twelve and St. Paul, who were

(w) Philip ii. 29.
Governors, Chap. 4.

(x) Account of b' wch-Government and

immediately chosen and sent by Christ himself, but divers others also (y) as Barnabas, Epaphroditus already mentioned, (z) Andronicus and Junia, (a) Titus and others. Our Translation indeed calls *Epaphroditus, Titus* and his Brethren, in the Places quoted, *Messengers of the Churches*, but why, or for what Reason I know not, for in the Original they are called *Apostles*, and it is the Original that is properly the Scripture or Word of God, and not our Translation where it differs from it. Now the Scripture teaches, that the *Apostles* were the chief Governors of the Church, each in his own Line, District or Diocese, as St. Paul teaches, who plainly claimed this chief Government in Spiritual Matters over the *Corinthians* and the other Churches which he had planted, but pretended not to the like Authority in any other Apostle's Line or District, saying, (b) *We will not boast of things without our Measure, but according to the Measure of the Rule (or Line, as it is in the Margin) which God hath distributed to us, a Measure to reach even unto you. For we stretch not our selves beyond our Measure, as though we reached not unto you : For we are come as far as to you also in preaching the Gospel of Christ : Not boasting of Things without our Measure, that is, of other Mens Labours.* From whence it appears, that each Apostle or chief Governor of the Church, which we now call a *Bishop*, had his proper Diocese, Rule, Line or District, in which no other might claim a Spiritual Jurisdiction independent on him: For this would be to make a *Schism* in the Church. And therefore as St. Paul claims a Spiritual Jurisdiction over the *Corinthians*, as within his Rule or Line, within that District which was committed to his Charge, so he challenges it exclusive of all others who pre-

(y) *Act. xiv. 14.* *1 Cor. ix. 5, 6.*(z) *Rom. xvi. 7.*(a) *2 Cor. viii. 23.*(b) *2 Cor. x. 13, 14, 15.*

tended to act there independently on him. And therefore though he very well approved that *Apollos* and *Cephas*, or any sent by them, should assist him either in the Conversion or Instruction of the *Corinthians*, yet he could not allow that any under Pretence of being sent by those Apostles should undertake to execute a Spiritual Power in that District in Opposition to him, or to draw away the People from their Obedience to him, and encourage them to follow some other Spiritual Guide in Opposition to him. Not that *Apollos* or *Cephas*, had really themselves done any thing in Opposition to St. *Paul*, for they only watered what St. *Paul* had planted, and acted in Union with him as Friends and Assistants. But some other made use of the Names of those Apostles, and pretended a Commission from them to act independently on St. *Paul* within his Jurisdiction. And this was what he declared to be contrary to the Will of God, and what he could by no means allow : (c) *For, says he, though ye have ten thousand Instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many Fathers : For in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel. Wherefore I beseech you be ye followers of me.* That is, be obedient and subject to me as your rightful Father or Spiritual Governor, for you cannot reject and cast me off to follow other Spiritual Guides in Opposition to me without a grievous Sin. And then he adds, *For this Cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved Son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into Remembrance of my Ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every Church.* As if he had said, I have, for this Reason, sent *Timothy* as my Deputy to take the Care and Charge of you under me, and instruct you what you ought to do till I can come my self amongst you. Now some are puffed up as though I

(c) 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16.

would not come to you. Some I understand have entertained an Opinion that I will come no more amongst you, and that I have abdicated my Charge; and therefore suppose they may take it upon themselves as if I had no longer any Authority over you. But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the Power. By the Grace of God I intend to be with you in a little Time, and shall then make it my Business to enquire, not what Doctrines these Men which have acted in Opposition to me have taught, but by what Power or Authority they have taken upon them to come and act within my District independent on me the chief Spiritual Father. For the Kingdom of God is not in Word but in Power. For the Church of Christ, that Society which our Saviour has chosen out of the World to be his peculiar People, does not subsist upon Doctrines and Opinions only, it is not sufficient that Men believe such and such Things as Matters of Faith, this alone makes not a Kingdom, Corporation, City or Society of Men: For every Society or Corporation of Men, as the Kingdom of God is (otherwise it cannot be a Kingdom) must have a Power and Authority within itself derived by Commission from the Founder of the Corporation, which Commission is certainly given to me as your proper Father in Christ, and those that are puffed up against me are by consequence puffed up against Christ, whatever Doctrines they teach: Upon which Account I shall have no Occasion to examine their Doctrines, but to enquire whether they have a legal Power and Authority to act as Ministers of Christ within my Jurisdiction in Opposition to me; or whether they have a Commission that supersedes mine, for otherwise they are no better than Intruders and Usurpers. What will ye? shall I come unto you with a Rod, or in Love and in the Spirit of Meekness? Will you submit to me quietly and peaceably, or must I be forced to exercise

exercise that Authority amongst you which I have received from *Christ*, to inflict such Spiritual Censures as I shall judge you deserve? Will ye return to your Duty by fair Means or not? These Words of St. Paul to the *Corinthians*, who were a Part of his Charge, very plainly shew, that he claimed a chief Spiritual Power over them independent on all Powers of the Earth, and that he could allow none to act there as Pastors of that Flock, unless it were as his Friends and Associates, or as Ministers under him: And that he had Authority to correct such as did so or sided with them with Spiritual Censures, such as should exclude them from the Kingdom of God.

§ XXVIII. After this he shews them, that this Subordination of one Member or Minister of the Church to another is absolutely necessary to preserve the Union of the Body, and that whatever Spiritual Gifts or Graces one Member may have above another, yet this does not give him a new or different Station in the Body of *Christ* from what he had before. And this he demonstrates by comparing the Church or Body of *Christ* to the natural Body of a Man, saying, (d) *As the Body is one and hath many Members, and all the Members of that one Body, being many are one Body, so also is Christ. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the Body is not one Member, but many.* Consequently *Christ*, as to his Body the Church, must consist of many Members also, and every Member must have its proper Station that it may be useful to the Body. Consider therefore, If, in the Natural Body, the Foot shall say, Because I am

(d) 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, 14.

not the Hand, I am not of the Body; is it therefore not of the Body? And if the Ear shall say, Because I am not the Eye, I am not of the Body; is it therefore not of the Body? If the whole Body were an Eye where were the Hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the Smelling? But now hath God set the Members, every one of them in the Body, as it hath pleased him. And if they were all one Member, where were the Body? But now are they many Members, yet but one Body. And the Eye cannot say unto the Hand, I have no need of thee: Nor again the Head to the Feet, I have no need of you. But God hath tempered the Body together, that there should be no Schism in the Body; but that the Members should have the same Care one for another. And whether one Member suffer, all the Members suffer with it; or one Member be honoured, all the Members rejoice with it. Now ye are the Body of Christ and Members in particular. That is all Christians, all that are baptized into his Church make one Body, and every single Christian is a Member of that Body, and helps to make up the whole whatever his Station be. And he that is in the lowest Station of the Church can no more say he is no Member of it, because he is not higher advanced, than the Foot, because it is the lowest Part of the Body, can say that it is not of the Body, because it is not the Hand. And as it would be unnatural and monstrous in the Natural Body for the Foot to be placed where the Hand should be, and to perform the Offices of the Hand, and to drive down the Hand into the Place of the Feet; so it would be as monstrous and unnatural in the Body of Christ, that is in the Church, for any Member of it to execute the Functions not belonging to his proper Station. For this would be to make all one Member, which must destroy the Body, which neither does nor can consist of one Member, but of many. Not of many huddled together in a Lump, but tempered and disposed in a due Order for the Use and Beauty of the whole.

He therefore that breaks this Order and puts any Member out of its proper Place makes a Schism in the Body, and destroys the Beauty of it, and hinders the Members from performing their proper Functions.

§ XXIX. S. Paul having, by this Comparison of the Church to the Natural Body of a Man, shewn how absurd and monstrous it is for all Men to suppose that they have every one the same Office in the Church, but that there must be different Stations and different Employments for the several Members, or else that it can be no Body, proceeds then to go on, and particularly names the several Functions at that time allotted by God to such as he had appointed to officiate in his Church, saying, (e) *God hath set some in his Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, after that Miracles, then Gifts of Healing, Helps, Governments, Diversities of Tongues. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the Gifts of Healing? Do all speak with Tongues? Do all interpret? But covet earnestly the best Gifts. And yet I shew unto you a more excellent Way.* As if he had said, It is indeed very commendable in every one to desire the best Gifts, and to strive to qualify himself for the highest Offices in the Church, yet the Way that I now shew you, which is to keep your proper Stations in which you are placed till you are regularly called to an higher Office, and not to make a Schism in the Body of Christ, which cannot be avoided if all will be Apostles, all Prophets, all Teachers, &c. is much more excellent than the bare obtaining such Gifts. For, as he goes on, (f) *Though I speak with the Tongues of*

(e) 1 Cor. xiii. 28, 29, 30, 31.

(f) 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Men and of Angels, and have not Charity, (that is, as is evident from what goes before, do not preserve the Unity of the Church or Body of Christ, by keeping to my proper Station in it, but usurp another's Office, or support and assist or joyn my self to those that do) I am become as sounding Brass or a tinkling Cymbal. And though I have the Gift of Prophecy, and understand all Mysterie and all Knowledge, and though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, and have not Charity (do not preserve that due Subordination of one Member to another in the Christian Church) I am nothing. And though I bestow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and though I give my Body to be burned, and die a Martyr for the Christian Faith, and have not Charity, but disunite the Church by Schismatical Communion, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth Long and is kind, Charity envyeth not, Charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, (He that resolves to preserve the Unity of the Church will bear any wrong or Injury rather than make a Schism, and return Good for Evil, he will not be envious to see another advanced above him, he will not over-value himself, or be guilty of any Insolence towards his Superiors or any else,) doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no Evil. Rejoyceth not in Iniquity, but rejoiceth in the Truth. Beareth all Things, believeth all things, hopeth all Things, endureth all Things. He that makes the Unity of the Church his main Care and Concern will do nothing unbecoming a Member of Christ's Body, nothing which may tend to injure that Body or any Member of it, but will study to do and bear every Thing for Christ and his Church's Sake. Charity never faileth, but whether there be Prophecies, they shall fail, whether there be Tongues they shall cease, whether there be Knowledge it shall vanish away. This Unity of the Church, this Communion of Saints, or of all the true Members of Christ's Body shall never

never have End : When all the Gifts and Graces before-mentioned shall cease, this shall continue to everlasting Ages.

§ XXX. Thus did S. *Paul* vindicate his own Power and Authority over the *Corinthians*, shewing them, that if they withdrew their Obedience from him to set up opposite Pastors independent on him, they must and would entirely deprive themselves of all the Benefits of Christianity : For to set up other chief Spiritual Governors in Opposition to him who was their proper Spiritual Father in *Christ*, would be like putting the Feet of the Natural Body into the Place of the Hands, or the Ears into the Place of the Eyes, which must make a *Schism* in the Body ; and that so doing they would break the Band of Charity, and so render all their Gifts and Graces, all their Spiritual Functions and Ministrations, nay even their Faith and Sufferings, even Martyrdom itself, of no Value. Which plainly shews, that he did not suppose the People could, at their Pleasure, remove one Apostle, Bishop or Pastor, and put another in his Place ; but on the contrary he lets them know, that if they did so they would become Schismatics, and destitute of that Charity which was necessary to make them acceptable to God, and without which nothing could make them acceptable.

§ XXXI. And if the People could not depose one Bishop or chief Spiritual Governor, and set up another in Opposition to him, or in his Stead, as S. *Paul* has so plainly taught us, it is certain the Civil Magistrate cannot do it ; for as to Spiritual Power or Authority he is but one of the People and a Subject of the Church. His Civil Power indeed may be exercised over Spiritual Persons also where the Church needs his Protection and Assistance against outward Force ; but the Apostolical or Episcopal Authority

Authority is a Spiritual Power derived immediately from *Christ*, and consequently cannot be vacated by any Civil Power. And therefore though the Civil Magistrate should renounce his due Obedience to his Rightful, Spiritual Father, and set up another in his stead, and command the People to do so too, threatening them with Civil Penalties if they do not ; yet this will not justify such a Revolt and make it no Sin : Such Deposition of the Rightful Pastor, and joyning in Communion with the Intruder, will be nevertheless a Schism and a Breach of the Band of Charity, and according to the Apostle's Doctrine, written by the infallible Direction of the Holy Ghost, will render all their Doings as nothing worth.

§ XXXII. Neither did S. Paul's Absence or Non-Residence amongst them defeat his Title to their Obedience ; for though he was so long absent that some supposed, (g) he would not visit them any more, yet he, even during that Absence, challeng'd their Obedience : (h) *He was indeed absent from them in Body, but he was present in Spirit* ; that is, in his Spiritual Power and Authority delegated to the Resident Presbyters that acted under him, or to some Bishop, such as (i) *Timothy*, or (k) *Titus* whom he sent to visit them in his own stead. And it was during his Absence that this Faction in the Church of *Corinth* was set up against him, for which he so much blames them from one end of his Epistle to the other : Neither was he present with them when he challeng'd their Obedience to him. A clear Evidence that he was as much the Bishop or chief Pastor of the *Corinthians* when he was at *Philippi* in *Macedonia* (from whence the Postscript says his two Epistles to that

(g) 1 Cor. iv. 18.

(i) 1 Cor. iv. 17.

(h) 1 Cor. v. 3.

(k) 2 Cor. xii. 18.

Church were written) as when he was in any Part of *Achaia*, or even at *Corinth* itself. His necessary Absence from that Part of his Charge did not take away the Relation he bore to that Flock. Whosover acted there as a Spiritual Guide independent on him broke the Unity of that Church and the Band of Charity, and became a Schismatick, and so were also all those that communicated with such an Intruder.

§ XXXIII. Neither did the Interposition of the Civil Magistrate, who forbade him to execute his Office in that or any other Place, make any Alteration in this Matter, or authorize those that were S. Paul's Spiritual Subjects to withdraw their Obedience from him and confer it on another. The Magistrates (¹) frequently imprison'd him, and thereby rendred him uncapable of discharging his Function either at *Corinth* or elsewhere; yet this, by no means discharged the People committed to his Charge from their Duty to him: He was their Apostle, their Bishop, their Spiritual Father as well when he was in Prison, and not only forbidden, but actually restrained by the Civil Magistrate from the Execution of his Office, as when at Liberty. Thus was he deposed or barried the Exercise of his Function by an *Irresistible Party*, for they who could Imprison, scourge and stone him, and in short handle him just as they pleased, were certainly *irresistible*. And by such a Party S. Paul was often deposed as far as it lay in their Power to depose him, whilst those that were puffed up against him had Liberty to preach and exercise their Functions in his District or Diocese. Yet this, as he has plainly taught us, did not deprive him of his Right over the *Corinthians*, or any other Part of his Charge, or justify those that joined with the In-

(1) 2 Cor. xi. 23.

truders against him. The Intruders and all those that adhered to them were nevertheless *Schismatics*, although the Civil Magistrate, with an irresistible Force, hindred S. Paul from officiating to his Flock, and permitted them to do it, S. Paul did not allow that they should be rightful Pastors of the Church of *Corinth*, because they had got Possession there, and he by Reason of his Absence might seem to be out of Possession ; nay, seemed not likely to come amongst them any more, being so often imprisoned for executing his Pastoral Office, (m) and in perpetual Danger of being put to Death, as he more than once tells them. And yet these Men who had got Possession of S. Paul's Chair at *Corinth* were otherwise Orthodox ; for he charges them with no false Doctrine otherwise than as they made a *Schism*, and intruded themselves into his District, in Opposition to him. However, he lets the *Corinthians* know, that by joining with such Men, and yielding Obedience to them as their Spiritual Fathers, they brake the Band of Charity ; and therefore though they spoke with the Tongues of Men and of Angels, it would not profit them.

§ XXXIV. These Intruders had the Civil Power on their side, and though it does not appear that the Magistrates directly authorized them to exercise the Office of Spiritual Guides at *Corinth*; yet it is manifest that they connived at them, and tolerated them, which they would not do by S. Paul or any of the Apostles. So that the *Corinthians* could not adhere to S. Paul, but they must suffer Persecution for it : But to those Guides that were set up in Opposition to S. Paul, they might adhere without any such Danger. This that Apostle observes, saying, (n) Now ye are

(m) 1 Cor. xv. 31. 2 Cor. xi. 23. (n) 1 Cor. iv. 8.

full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as Kings without us. As if he had said, Now ye have cast me off and got new Guides to direct you, you live happily and at ease; you are not disturbed either by the Jews or by the Heathen, but enjoy all the Liberty and Freedom you can desire. And I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you. I heartily wish that you had obtained or preserved this Freedom by justifiable Means, and that it was not granted you on Account of your Opposition to me, and because ye have rejected my Authority, that I might enjoy it with you. For I think that God hath set forth us the Apostles last, as it were Men appointed unto Death: For we are made a Spectacle to the World, and to Angels, and to Men. We Apostles seem to be the only Men now struck at, others may preach with safety and without Danger. But we are exposed to Dangers, Contempt and Scorn. We are Fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are Weak, but ye are Strong; ye are honourable, but we are despised. We are vile and despised for doing our Duty, and continuing to exercise our Apostolical Office notwithstanding all the Dangers and Hazards we incur by so doing, but ye are wise Christians that leaving our Communion and joining yourselves to those that know how to make an Interest with the Magistrates can secure yourselves and avoid Persecution. Hereby you live honourably and creditably in the World, whilst we are contemptible. Even unto this present Hour we both Hunger and Thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain Dwelling-Place. And labour, working with our own Hands; being reviled we bless; being persecuted we suffer it; being defamed we intreat, and pray to God for them that Calumniate or falsely accuse us; we are made as the Filth of the World, and the Offscouring of all things, unto this Day. I write not these Things to shame you, but as my beloved Sons I warn you. Though I have been thus used since these Schisms have

have come in amongst you, yet I do not now mention it in order to reproach you for the ill Usage I have received at your Hands, in that you have forsaken me, because I have been persecuted by the Civil Powers, and thereby hindred from coming to you, and have set up others to communicate with as Guides in Opposition to me. *For though you have ten thousand Instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many Fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel. Wherefore, I beseech you be ye Followers of me.* Though you have had never so many Preachers amongst you, yet have you not many Spiritual Fathers, Apostles or Bishops; for I am your proper Apostle or Bishop, having a Right to your Spiritual Obedience, by planting the Gospel among you, and therefore no other can challenge that Authority over it, 'till I deliver it to a Successor, either by Death or Resignation; or at least by some just Forfeiture: And for this Reason I must still intreat you to adhere to me as your proper Bishop. *For this Cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved Son and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my Ways, which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every Church.* Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you. I will send Timothy to supply my Place for the present, and forasmuch as some by reason of my Absence take occasion to despise me, *I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will.*

§ XXXV. From hence we may justly conclude, that neither S. Paul's Absence, nor the Civil Magistrate's forbidding him to execute his Office whilst he permitted others, Orthodox enough in all other respects, (for ought that appears to the contrary) to supply his Place, and take the Care of his Church in Opposition to him, could really take away his Right to the Spiritual Charge of that District which was his peculiar Care, to Authorize the People to join with those

those Intruders, since it is the main End of his Epistles to the *Corinthians* to convince them that they were in the wrong in so doing. Not that he was for hindring any one from coming thither in his Absence, or even when he was present, to teach and instruct the People in Conjunction with himself, nor was he offended that *Apollos* or *Cephas* or any other Minister of *Christ* should water what he had planted, whilst they acted only as Brothers, Companions or Fellow-Labourers; if they were Apostles of the same Order with himself; or as Ministers under him, if they were of an Inferior Order. But he could not approve that they should do thus within his Line, in Opposition to him, and without any Dependence upon him, without any regard to his Jurisdiction there, as the true Apostle or Bishop of that Flock; nor could he like of the Peoples joining in Communion with such Men as their Pastors. Hence it is manifest, that the Civil Magistrates forbidding an Apostle or Bishop to exercise his Function, and not only threatening, but actually executing the severest Temporal Punishments upon him, if he shall disobey in this Case, does not really divest such Apostle or Bishop of his Spiritual Authority over his Flock, or Authorize an Intruder to take Possession of his See; nor will it justify the People that shall join with such an Intruder in this Case.

§ XXXVI. Those who first engaged in this Argument of late Years, did not undertake to justify *Lay-Deprivations*, but only pretended we may comply with them, though supposing them to be not only *Unjust*, but *Invalid*, if imposed by an *irresistible Power*, provided those be otherwise Orthodox, who take Possession of their Places. Dr. *Hody* indeed has told us, that he reserved (o) the *Vindication of the Authority of*

(o) *Preface to the Case of Sees Vacant, &c.*

the Civil Power, in depriving a Bishop for Political Crimes, for a particular Treatise. But upon farther Consideration, he thought it better not to make any such Attempt. But that which he did think proper to maintain, was, that *granting all Lay-deprivations were invalid; nay, supposing them not only uncanonical but unjust; nay, suppose the Depriver not only a Lay-man but doubly unqualified by being likewise an Heretick: Suppose besides that the ejected Bishop was deprived for adhering to the Truth, and for opposing Vice or Heresy: Notwithstanding all this, he asserts, That if he was deprived by a Power irresistible, a Submission to the present Possessor, (if otherwise unexceptionable) is lawful and warranted by the general Practice of the Ancients.* And in order to prove this, he gives us a long Catalogue of Examples from the Practice of the Ancient Church, as he calls it. But his eldest Instances come not up to the fourth Century, and all before are directly against him as has been shewed by the Learned Author of the *Historical Collections.* They are all Instances taken from the Corrupt Ages of the Church, and were they all fairly represented (and they are many of them far from being so) would not be proper Precedents for us to follow. Indeed the Case of *Eustathius of Antioch*, and of *S. John Chrysostom* come within the fourth Century; and might be allowed as good Precedents, but he has shamefully misrepresented them, for being rightly stated and considered, they are directly against him. But if they were not, this Instance of *S. Paul the Apostle and Bishop of the Corinthians*, is a Precedent beyond all others; and if he did not think the secular Power, which is what Dr. Hody means by his *Irresistible Force*, could depose him from his Spiritual Authority over the *Corinthians*, then can they not depose any of his Successors, that is any Bishop of his Authority over his Diocese. Now that the secular Governors deposed *S. Paul*, as far as it was in their Power to do, is most certain from what

I have

I have already produced. For they forbade him to exercise his Function of an Apostle or Bishop; and when he did not think fit to obey them, being of the same Opinion with the other Apostles, that he ought to obey God rather than Man, they imprison'd him, they scourged him, they threatned him with Death, and had actually put him to Death if he had not made Escapes from them by getting out of a Window in a Basket or such like way. Whilst S. Paul lay under this State Deposition, under this *irresistible Force*, some Persons came to *Corinth*, which was S. Paul's District or Diocese, and took upon them to govern that Church Independent on him, the Magistrates gave these Men no Disturbance, but permitted them to perform the Offices of Christian Priests in that Place, and that Church was free from Persecution, whilst they withdrew from S. Paul's Communion. Yet this Submission of theirs to the present Possessors whilst S. Paul was kept from them by an *irresistible Power*, was the very thing he condemned them for; the thing for which he blamed them in both his Epistles, and told them that whilst they continued in this Schism, all their Gifts and Graces; nay, all the good Deeds they could perform under such a Breach of Charity or Unity of the Church, would profit them Nothing. And these Epistles of S. Paul, contain not his bare Opinion, but were written by Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. They are the Word of God, and therefore the Doctrines contained in them are of Divine Authority, and are not to be cancelled by any humane Reasons or Precedents. And the Practice of the truly Primitive Church, was agreeable to this very Doctrine, as is evident from their acting, with regard to the *Novatians*, the *Donatists* and the *Meletians*.

§ XXXVII. It's alledged, (p) (says Dr. Hody) by one of our Adversaries that the Novatians, the Donatists, and the Meletians of Egypt were Schismatics in the Opinion of the Church, because the Bishops who first headed them, were second Bishops; but this is easily answer'd: For the Bishops whom they followed, were not set up by any Sovereign coercive Power, in the room of others deposed, but were set up by Inferior Persons, against others possessed of the Sees. I have already said, that it is not every one whom a small tumultuous Party shall get to be ordained, that ought to be received as a Bishop; but that which we maintain is this, That where the lawful Bishop is deposed by an irresistible Party, there the Successor may be acknowledged.

§ XXXVIII. But it is evident from S. Cyprian (an Author who lived in the time of Novatian, and has given a fuller Account of the Rise of that Schism than any other) that the Novatians were not a small tumultuous Party, but a very numerous Body, and also had the Protection of the State when the Orthodox had it not. And if they were not at first set up by the Sovereign Power, they were soon received and protected by it; they were allowed to purchase Lands and Houses, to build Churches and enjoy them, and were protected in the Execution of their Spiritual Functions, whilst the Catholicks were persecuted by the Emperors Gallus and Volusianus. That they were a numerous Body, diffused in all Parts of the Empire, S. Cyprian shews when he tells us, (q) That whereas

(p) *Case of Sees Vacant*, pag. 195.

(q) Cumq; jampridem per omnes Provincias & per Urbes singulas Ordinati sint Episcopi, in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in Pressura Probati, in Persecutione proscripti; Ille super eos creare alios Pseudoepiscopos audeat. Quasi possit aut totum Orbem novi conatus obstinatione peragrare, Cyp. Epist. 55. p. 112.

long since Bishops venerable for Age, sound in Faith, approved by Oppression, proscribed in Persecutions, have been ordained in all Provinces, and in every City, he [Novatian] dares to put over their Heads other Pseudo-Bishops, as if he was able to over-run the World by persisting in his new Attempt. For a small tumultuous Party could not immediately set up Bishops in all the Provinces and Cities of that large Empire, which contained the greatest part of the then known World. That they were allowed to purchase Lands and Houses, to build Churches and enjoy them; nay, and to take Possession at least of some Churches, and Church-Lands or Houses belonging to the Catholicks, which it is certain they could not have done, had they not been protected and encouraged by the Secular Power, appears from a Law of Constantine the Great, made about 80 Years after the Schism began, (r) wherein he confirms to the Novatians, all their Possessions which they had a long time enjoy'd, excepting only those which belonged to the Catholicks before the Schism. That they were also protected in the Exercise of their Functions whilst the Catholicks were persecuted by the Emperors Gallus and Volusianus, is evident from S. Cyprian, who in an Epistle to Cornelius the true Bishop of Rome, against whom Novatianus was set up, having congratulated Cornelius for his bold Confession of the Christian Faith, and for his suffering Banishment in so good a Cause, says,

(r) Itaq; Ecclesiae suæ Domos, & loca sepulchris apta, sine inquietudine eos firmiter præcipimus: ea scilicet quæ ex diuturno tempore vel exemplo habuerunt vel qualibet quæsierunt jatione. Provideadum erit ne quid usurpare conentur ex his quæ ante discidium, ad Ecclesiæ perpetuæ sanctitatis pertinuisse manifestum est. Cod. Theodos. l. 2. lit. 5.

(s) But what says Novatian to this? — Does he yet acknowledge who is God's Priests? Which is the Church and House of Christ? Who are the Servants of Christ, whom the Devil persecutes? Who are the Christians whom Antichrist fights against? For he does not seek after those whom he has already subdued; or endeavour to overturn those whom he has already made his own. The Foe and Enemy of the Church contemns and passes by those whom he has alienated from the Church, and lead out of it as already his Bondsmen and Captives: He goes on to provoke those in whom he sees Christ to dwell. Now, if Novatian, or any of his Party had suffer'd in this Persecution under Gallus and Volusian, or had not been permitted to exercise their Functions and Ministrations, S. Cyprian could not have made the Sufferings of Cornelius and his Adherents a Testimony of the Righteousness of their Cause above that of the Novatians. Would Novatian have had any Reason to think Cornelius to have been God's Priest, upon the account of his Sufferings, rather than himself, if he had also suffered as the other did? It is plain then, that the Emperors Gallus and Volusianus, persecuted the Catholicks and let the Novatians alone. Yet although Cornelius was banished, and so deposed or turned out of his Bishoprick by a Sovereign, Coercive, Irrefistible Power, the Catholick Christians did not for that Reason think they might accept Novatian for their Bishop: But immediately after the Martyrdom

(s) Quid adhæc Novatianus, frater Charissime? — Agnoscitne iam qui sit sacerdos Dei? Quæ sit Ecclesia & Domus Christi? Qui sunt Dei servi quos diabolus infestet? Qui sunt Christiani quos Antichristus impugnet? Neq; enim querit illos, quos jam subegit, aut gestit evertere, quos jam suos fecit: Inimicus & hostis Ecclesiæ quos alienavit ab Ecclesia & foras duxit, ut captivos & vinculos contemnit & præterit; eos pergit lacessere in quibus Christum cernit habitare. Cypr. Epist. 60,

of *Cornelius*, which happened in a short time after his Banishment; *Lucius* was consecrated in his stead, who was also banished, but lived to return from his Banishment, upon the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, which happened not long after, for they did not Reign a whole Year; and then the Persecution ceased for a time. To this *Lucius*, S. *Cyprian* also writes and Congratulates him upon his Return from his Banishment; and amongst other things says thus, (t) *We understand, our dearest Brother, and see with the whole Eye of our Heart, the salutary and holy Counsels of the Divine Majesty; whence that sudden Persecution so lately arose; whence the secular Power so suddenly fell upon Cornelius the Bishop and blessed Martyr, and upon all of you: That to confound and repel the Hereticks God shewed, which was his Church, who his own Bishop, chosen by divine Appointment; who the Presbyters joined in the Honour of the Priesthood with the Bishop; which the united and true People of Christ, joined together in Charity as the Lord's Flock; who they were whom the Enemy contended with, who on the contrary, whom the Devil spared as his own.* Thus we see that from the Beginning of this Persecution to the End of it, the *Novatians* bore no share of it. For it is plain by those he calls *Hereticks* in this Passage, he means them; for his Words here are much the same in Sense, with those

(t) *Intelligimus, frater Charissime, & tota cordis nostri luce perspicimus divinæ Majestatis salutaria & sancta consilia; unde illic repentina persecutio nuper exorta sit, unde contra Ecclesiam Christi & Episcopum Cornelium beatum Martorem, vosq; omnes sacerdotalis potestas subito proruperit: ut ad confundendos Hæreticos & retundendos ostenderit Dominus, quæ esset Ecclesia, quis Episcopus ejus unus, divina Ordinatione delectus; qui cum Episcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti; quis adunatus & verus Christi populus Dominicæ Gregis Charitate connexus: Qui essent quos inimicus lacefferet, qui contra, quibus diabolus ut suis parceret.* Cypr. Ep. 60.

before quoted from the former Epistle, which are expressly applied to *Novatian* and his Followers by Name: Then those Words, who is one Bishop, must refer to *Novatian*, who set up for the other Bishop. We cannot therefore say, that the *Novatians* were a small tumultuous Party who had no Sovereign coercive Power to support them: For it is plain, the Emperor was of *Novatian's* Side: For he banish'd *Cornelius*, his Competitor, and put him to Death; and when *Lucius* was ordained his Successor, he banish'd him also, leaving the sole Possession to *Novatian*; and yet the Church looked upon *Novatian* and his Followers to be as much Schismatics whilst they had the sole Possession of the Christian Churches as they were before or after.

§ XXXIX. Then as to the *Donatists*, though they were indeed a tumultuous Party, they were far from being a small Party, for they had as many Bishops in *Africa* as the Catholicks themselves: And by Means of their *Circumcellions* or *Banditti* were very often an Irresistible Party: And in the Reign of *Julian* had the Sovereign Coercive Power on their Side, as we may learn from *Optatus* and *S. Austin*, and all that have given us any Account of that Schism. Neither were the *Meletians* of *Egypt* a small Party, for they were too many for the Bishop of *Alexandria*, the Primate of that Country, to deal with; nor could the Council of *Nice* itself effectually quell them. (u) Dr. *Hody* says, The only Question is, whether *Paul* or *Apollos* may be follow'd when *Cephas* is in Prison, and is render'd incapable of acting as an Apostle? And I suppose it is the same thing if we ask, Whether it be lawful to follow *Cephas* or *Apollos* when *Paul* is in Prison. For the Case is just the same, and the Answer is very easy, and

(u) *Case of Sees vacant.* Pag. 12.

made by S. Paul himself. (w) If *Apollos* or *Cephas* come in to water what S. Paul has planted, they do well. If they come in as Friends or Assistants to S. Paul to feed his Flock whilst he is disabled from doing it himself, and act therein only as his Companions and Fellow-Labourers, they may and ought to be followed, for so to follow them is to follow *Paul* also, whether he be in Prison or not, whether he be present or absent. But if *Cephas* or *Apollos* come into S. Paul's District, and one of them tells the People he is now their Spiritual Father in *Paul's* stead, and they are no more to look upon *Paul* as their Apostle or Bishop, because he is imprisoned and rendered uncapable of acting as an Apostle among them, this S. Paul would say is (x) stretching themselves beyond their Measure, and boasting in another Man's Line. And whether it was *Apollos* or *Cephas* that did this, he would be a Schismatick, and break the Band of Charity, and therefore though he spake with the Tongues of Men and of Angels, he ought not to be followed, for he could profit them nothing. S. Paul was frequently imprisoned, and yet, as I have shewed, he did not think that he thereby lost his Right of Spiritual Obedience from the *Corinthians*, and (y) therefore beseeches them to be Followers of him. And indeed it would be a very hard Case if a Pastor was to lose his Right over his Flock, because he is imprison'd, as S. Paul was, for doing his Duty: Yet this is what the Doctor has pleaded for. Suppose, says he, that the ejected Bishop was deprived for adhering to the Truth, and for opposing Vice or Heresy: Notwithstanding all this, I assert, That if he was deprived by a Power Irrestible, a Submission to the present Possessor (if otherwise unexceptionable) is lawful and warranted by the general Practice of the Ancients. But we have seen

(w) 1 Cor. iii. 6. (x) 2 Cor. x. 14. 16. (y) 1 Cor. xiv. 16.
that

that it is not warranted by the Scripture, nor by the most ancient Church in the Case of the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, and *Meletians*, who were the first that formed a *Schism* by bringing in a second Bishop into a full See. And we have seen that S. *Cyprian* was so far from thinking that the Imprisonment of *Cornelius* or *Lucius* could give *Novatian* a Right to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, because they were thereby incapacitated to act as Bishops, and *Novatian* was left as the sole Bishop in full Possession of that Church, as far as a Sovereign coercive Power could give him Possession, by permitting him at least, if not authorizing him, to possess the Houses and Churches belonging to the Catholicks before the Breach (as I have proved from the Law of *Constantine*, which commanded them to be restored) and by leaving no other Bishop to act in *Rome* but himself, that he makes this very Thing an Argument that *Cornelius* and *Lucius* were the true and rightful Bishops, and that *Novatian* was not so; that God approved of those two as his Bishops, because he permitted them to be imprisoned, and did not approve of *Novatian*, because he let him and his Party escape the Persecution. So far is the Doctor's Assertion, *that though a Bishop be deprived by a Sovereign coercive Power for adhering to the Truth, yet it may be lawful to comply with the Successor*, who is permitted or authorized by *that Sovereign Power* to supply his Place, from being agreeable to the Sense of the Ancients, that nothing is more contrary to the Sense of truly Primitive Antiquity, as well as to the Scriptures themselves.

§ XL. But after all there is no such Thing in this Case as *Irresistible Force*. Lawful Sovereign Powers are indeed always *Irresistible*, so as they may not be opposed by Arms though we had sufficient Strength

to

to resist them ; (z) for all such Resistance is forbidden under the Penalty of Damnation : But if by *Resistance* we understand not complying with or yielding Obedience to their just Commands, then no humane Power can be *Irresistible* ; for we may choose to obey God rather than Man, and suffer Persecution and all Temporal Penalties they will inflict with Patience and Resignation to the Will of God, and by Prayers and Tears commit our Cause to him, as the Primitive Christians did. And by this Means they at last, in God's good Time, which is always the best and most proper Time, overcame their Persecutors, and brought the Powers of the World into the Church. But shameful Compliances against the Truth, which is what the Doctor pleads for, never proved to the Advantage of the Church, how likely soever in humane Reason it might appear proper to produce such an Effect.

§ XLI. It is further objected by some, that the Jewish Priests were of Divine Institution as well as the Christian, and therefore as to their Priesthood as much independent on the Civil Power, yet King Solomon deposed the High-Priest *Abiathar* and put *Zadok* in his Room. But if we look into the Story as related in the Scripture, we shall find that *Solomon* did not depose *Abiathar*, as that signifies, depriving him of his *Priesthood*, or even of the Station he held in the Jewish Church. For in the first place, it is certain *Abiathar* was not the *High-Priest*, but *Zadok*. For in the Time of *David*, (a) *Zadok* was over the *Aaronites*, or whole Family of the Priests. And when *David* fled from *Absalom*, and the Priests followed him with the *Ark*, though *Abiathar* was there, yet the Charge of the *Ark* plainly belonged to *Zudok*,

(z) Rom. xiii. 2.

(a) 1 Chron. xxviii. 17.

(b) for

(b) for it was he, and not *Abiathar*, conducted those that bore it ; and he, and not *Abiathar*, was required by the King to carry it back to *Jerusalem*. And when these two are named together, (c) as they are in several Places, *Zadok* is always named first ; and it cannot be thought it should always have been so if *Abiathar* had been the Superior : Yet we never read that *Abiathar* and *Zadok* were the Priests, but always *Zadok* and *Abiathar*. A sure Argument that *Zadok* was the *High-Priest*, and *Abiathar* but the Second Priest. It is also evident that the Hereditary Right to the High-Priesthood was in *Zadok*, (d) who was descended from *Eleazar* the eldest Son of *Aaron*, and not in *Abiathar*, (e) who was descended from *Ithamar* the youngest Son of *Aaron*. It is therefore a great Mistake to say, that *Abiathar* was the *High-Priest*, when it is so evident that not he, but *Zadok*, was so all along in the Days of *David*, and before this pretended Deposition by *Solomon*. However, was he the first or the second Priest, they say it is plain that *Solomon* deposed him. Let us then examine that Matter, and see whether he was properly deposed or not, that is, either deprived of his Priesthood or of his Station in the Jewish Church.

§ XLII. *Adonijah*, *Joab* and *Abiathar*, had entred into an open Rebellion against *David* and *Solomon*, for which *Solomon* thought fit to put the two former to Death ; and if he had done the same by *Abiathar* he had done no more than he had Right to do. For an Ecclesiastical Function gives no one an Exemption from a due Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, or puts him out of the Power of the Temporal Laws. And

(b) 2 Sam. xv. 24, 25.

(c) 2 Sam. xv. 29, 35, 36. xvii. 15. xix. 11. xx. 25.

¹ Cbr. xv. 11.

(d) 1 Chron. vi. 53.

(e) 1 Chron. xxiv. 3, 6.

there-

therefore *Solomon* had an undoubted Right to inflict what Temporal Punishment on *Abiathar* for his Treason that he pleased. But he thought fit to spare his Life, and only confine him to a gentle Imprisonment within his own Lands. (f) *And unto Abiathar the Priest said the King, Get thee unto Anathoth thine own Fields; for thou art worthy of Death: But I will not at this time put thee to Death.* This was *Solomon's Sentence* which he passed upon this Priest; and was plainly no other than a Civil Sentence: For Confinement or Imprisonment, whether close or large, is undoubtedly the Right of the Civil Magistrate to inflict, and of no other; and this was all that *Solomon* did: He did not so much as take away his Lands from him which belonged to him as a Priest, but commanded him to go and live upon them. But if he had deprived him of his Priesthood, he must have deprived him of those Lands which were given by God to the Priests, and which therefore none but a Priest could enjoy. But then say the Adversaries, it follows in the next Place; *So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord.* Very right, by confining him to *Anathoth* he disabled him from executing his Office of a Priest in the Temple at *Jerusalem*: But *Solomon* passed no Sentence of Deposition or Deprivation upon him, which is the Ecclesiastical Sentence; he only passed the Sentence of Confinement. It is true, that Sentence of Confinement, whilst he lay under it, hindred him from officiating in the Temple, but so would a fit of Sickness or a broken Leg have done, yet surely no one will say that a broken Leg or a fit of Sickness deposes or deprives a Priest or Bishop that it puts him out of the Station he held in the Church, and yet it will disable him from officiating for the Time, and effectually

(f) 1 King. ii. 26.

keep him from executing his Office so long as it lasts. And therefore, notwithstanding this pretended Deposition, *Abiathar* was still reputed to be the second Priest in the Days of *Solomon*, even as he was in the Reign of *David*, for after this Confinement to *Anathoth*, we read (g) that *Zadok* and *Abiathar* were the Priests ; which would not have been if he had been deprived of his Priesthood, or of his Station in the Church, as well as hindred from executing his Office by Confinement. But they tell us, that he must have been deprived, because another was put into his Room : For so says the Text, (b) *And Zadok the Priest did the King put in the Room of Abiathar.* But the Original is, *And Zadok the Priest did the King give for Abiathar.* Which cannot here mean, that he put *Zadok* into *Abiathar's* Place, for that would have been to have degraded him from the Office of High-Priest to that of Second Priest. But as *Zadok* was High-Priest, it belonged to him to see that all Offices in the Temple were duly performed ; consequently if any Priest was, upon any Account, disabled from officiating, he was obliged to see that Charge performed by himself, or some other Priest whom he should appoint. Therefore the King having, by confining *Abiathar* to *Anathoth*, disabled him from performing the Office of Second Priest in the Temple, directed *Zadok*, the High-Priest, to take care that the Office of the Second Priest might not be omitted by Reason of the Disability of *Abiathar*. Thus he gave *Zadok* for *Abiathar*, by requiring him to see *Abiathar's* Duty performed. As if our King should, for some Temporal Crime, imprison the Bishop of *London*, and then bid the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom it belongs of Course during the Disability of the proper Bishop) to take care of that Diocese. This would be giving the Peo-

(g) *1 King.* iv. 4.(b) *1 King.* iii. 35.

ple of *London* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for their own Bishop, but would neither be deposing the Bishop of *London*, nor putting another in his Room. And yet this is plainly all that *Solomon* did with Relation to *Abiathar*.

§ XLIII. The Adversaries to the Independency of the Church finding their Assertions to fail, and not to be maintainable, have since come to putting of Queries. And we are asked, *If Christ appointed, or his Apostles left, any Rule in the Sacred Writings for deposing of Bishops?* To which it may be answer'd, That it having been proved, that *Christ* himself ordain'd his Apostles, and sent them as he was sent by the Father, he thereby gave them Authority to ordain others to that Office as he had ordain'd them: And that it appears from the Sacred Writings, that they actually did invest others with the same Office whom we now call Bishops: Therefore if neither he nor his Apostles have left any Rule for deposing Bishops, or given Authority to any to depose them, there cannot a Bishop be deposed; for being made by an Authority derived from *Christ*, they must be deposed by an Authority derived from him, or not at all, otherwise we must set up an Authority in the Church above *Christ*: For if any Power on Earth can deprive a Man of a Power derived from *Christ*, without deriving that Power of Deprivation from him also, then has not *Christ* a Supreme Power over his Church, for there is another above him that can undo what he has done; which it would be both absurd and blasphemous for any Man to say. But the Sacred Writings have taught us, that a Bishop may fall from his Bishoprick by Transgression, (i) for so they declare that *Judas* fell from his Apostleship; and that when a Bishop so falls by Transgression, then an-

(i) *Act.* i. 25, 20,

other shall take his Bishoprick. And as *Christ*, by sending his Apostles and their Successors as he was sent by the Father, plainly gave them Authority to make and ordain Bishops ; so he also as plainly gave them the Power to judge and declare when a Bishop was fallen from his Bishoprick by Transgression. Thus (*k*) *Peter* and the other *Apostles* judged and declared in the Case of *Judas*. It is true, *Judas* was then dead, and so his Bishoprick vacant another Way; but they did not declare the Vacancy to have accrued from his *Death*, but from his *Transgression*: That was sufficient to have made his Place vacant, though he had been still alive. Here then is a Rule in the Sacred Writings for deposing of Bishops; no one has Authority to depose a Bishop arbitrarily or without just Cause, but when he is guilty of such Transgression as justly makes a Vacancy of his Bishoprick; then the College of Bishops are to declare and judge concerning the Matter, and put another into his Place.

§ XLIV. Another Query is, *Was not the judging and depositing of Bishops by Provincial Synods in the Beginning, a Prudential, no Divine Institution, such a one as the Church thought to be best in their Circumstances; as was the Division of the whole Church into Districts, called in our Modern Terms, Dioceses and Provinces, after the Plan of the Civil Empire?* It may be answered, That I have already shewed, that the Division of the Church into Districts, which we now call *Dioceses* or *Provinces*, was made by the *Apostles* themselves, and that not meerly upon Prudential Reasons, as is here suggested, but by the Directions of the Holy Ghost; and therefore *St. Paul* (*l*) calls his District, *the Measure of the Rule or Line which God had distributed to him*. And if herein they followed the Plan of the Civil

(*k*) *Act. i. 13, 15.*

(*l*): *Cor. x. 13.*

Empire, what follows from thence? Only that they saw no Occasion to make new Measures and Boundaries for the World when they saw it already well bounded to their Hand. But still they did not go to the Civil Magistrate to know which Province he would be pleased to allot to each Apostle. They first made S. James the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, allotting to him that City and its Territory; and the other Apostles dispersed themselves into the other Parts of the World, each taking such a Province or Number of Provinces as was thought proper among themselves. And when any of them had made such a Multitude of Converts as were too many for his own single Inspection and Government, then he ordain'd some other Person to be Bishop or chief Spiritual Ruler of such a District or Diocese within his Province as he thought fit to commit to his Charge; and they took care that no one should meddle in another's District, or (*m*) stretch himself beyond his Measure. Thus the whole Church was divided into Districts or Dioceses by the Apostles, as appears from the Sacred Writings; and therefore this was a Divine, not an Humane Institution, as the Querist pretends, made upon Prudential Reasons or by an Humane Authority, the Apostles in this, as in the other Settlements of the Church, following the Directions of the Holy Ghost. So also the Meeting of Provincial Synods, that is, Synods of Neighbouring Bishops, to judge and determine concerning the Affairs of the Church, was not a meer Prudential Institution, but derived from the Practice of the Apostles; who, by the Directions of the Holy Ghost, settled that Method for determining such Controversies as might arise. Thus, when a Controversy arose concerning Circumcision, (*n*) the Apostles met in Council at *Jerusalem* to determine the

(*m*) 2 Cor. x. 14.(*n*) Act. xv.

Question. And that they acted herein not upon Prudential Reasons only, but by Divine Appointment, is evident from the Decree then made ; wherein they say, (o) *It seemed good to the Holy-Ghost and to us.* And if the Holy-Ghost had not directed them to that Method of ending this Matter, they would not have enforced their Decree with his Authority. Is the Holy-Ghost to be made the Author of a meer Prudential Constitution ? They had also an express Warrant from *Christ* thus to determine Controversies of the Church by meeting together in Synodical Assemblies ; and he had promised, (p) *That where two or three should so meet together in his Name, he would be in the midst of them.* Not only to determine Matters of Faith, Doctrine or Practice, such as are mention'd to have been determin'd in the Apostolical Synod, but to hear and determine Differences between Man and Man, (q) and to examine Witnesses, consequently to judge of all Matters wherin the Church may be concerned. And therefore as the Church is concerned to know whether a Bishop is fallen from his Bishoprick by Transgression or not, they must thereby receive a Power to determine that also. For since the Scriptures teach us, that the Apostles and their Successors the Bishops, were sent by *Christ* even as he was sent by the Father, that is, were appointed to govern the Church under him as the *Supreme Head*, for so the Words must mean, or they mean nothing ; and he had before directed, that in Matters of Spiritual Judicature, they should meet two or three, or more, to hear and determine such Causes, and promised to be in the midst of them to ratify and confirm their Judgment when so met in his Name, (r) and to bind or loose in Heaven what they should at such

(o) *Aet. xv. 28.* (p) *Matt. xvii. 20.*(q) *Matt. xviii. 16.* (r) *Matt. xviii. 18.*

Meetings bind or loose on Earth, it is plain that he authorized them to meet in Synods Provincial, National or Oecumenical, according as they conveniently might do, to judge all Spiritual Causes. And whether a Bishop has been guilty of such a Transgression as may forfeit his Bishoprick, is certainly a Spiritual Cause, and which the Apostles did judge in the case of Judas; it is evident then that the Judging and Depositing of Bishops by Provincial Synods in the Beginning, was not a meer Prudential, but a Divine Institution, as was also the Division of the whole Church into certain Districts called in our Modern Terms Dioceses and Provinces, after the Plan of the Civil Empire. As I have already proved.

§ XLV. It is also asked, Did not the Emperors when they became Christian, yield the Causes of Bishops, as formerly to Synods, out of meer Favour, and as looking upon them to be abler Judges of Matters that concerned the Faith and Discipline of the Church than the Heathen Magistrates, who were then mostly possessed of those Offices under the Christian Emperors? I have already proved in the Answer to the former Question, that Bishops had a Divine Right, or a Right by Divine Institution, given by Christ himself, to meet in Synods, to hear and determine Spiritual Causes. And therefore when Christian Emperors confirmed that Right by their Civil Laws; it was not a Matter of meer Favour, but what they were obliged to as Christians; if they had not done it, but had gone about to have taken that Right from them, they would in that particular have rejected the Authority of Christ, who gave them that Right some hundreds of Years before there was a Christian Emperor. For he made them, and not the Emperor and his Officers, whether Heathen or

(r) Mat. xviii. 18.

Christian, the only Judges of what concerned the Faith and Discipline of the Church. Christ and his Apostles settled the Faith and Discipline of the Church without the Emperor or any other Civil Magistrate whatsoever: And (*s*) committed the same to faithful Men; the Bishops and Pastors whom they appointed to succeed them, who should be able to teach others also. And when the Emperors became Christian they received and embraced the Faith and Discipline thus settled by Christ and his Apostles, and conveyed down to them by the Bishops who succeeded them. Therefore the Christian Emperors yielding the Causes of Bishops to Synods, as to what concerned the Faith and Discipline of the Church, was no matter of meer Favour, but a Right which they received from Christ. But their yelding the Causes of Bishops concerning Civil Matters to Synods, was, I confess a Matter of meer Favour, and that the first Christian Emperors did, as judging it not so proper to permit the Heathen Officers to be Judges of Bishops in any Matters. And many Governors of the Provinces were Heathen long after there were Christian Emperors. And this Distinction will help to solve the next Question. Which is,

§ XLVI. Did not the Christian Emperors however, when they saw Reason, interpose in the Causes of Bishops, and determine them in another Way from the first Provincial Plan? Did not Constantine for Instance, the first Christian Emperor, order the Cause of S. Athanasius, Metropolitan of Egypt, to be heard by certain Eastern Bishops, whom he appointed, and at a Place remote from the Province of Athanasius? To this it may be answer'd, That a Civil Cognisance of all Causes, even the most Spiritual that can be imagined belongs to

every Sovereign Prince, as I have shewed in the Beginning of this Discourse, whether he be *Heathen* or *Christian*, and he may take Cognizance of it in such Manner as to him seems most Expedient. And therefore if an Emperor was disposed to take Cognizance of the Faith of any Bishop, he was not bound to do it in a Synod of that Province, where the Bishop lived, which was the regular Ecclesiastical Method; but might examine him by himself, or appoint his Privy Council, or an Inferior Magistrate to do it; or if he thought it proper to have him examined or tried by Bishops, he might pick out or Name what Bishops he thought fit for that purpose; for such Trial would be only for the Emperor's Satisfaction, and enable him to judge whether he should pass a civil judicial Sentence upon him or not; as whether he should condemn him to Fine, Imprisonment, Banishment or Death, or any other Temporal Punishment which the Civil Magistrate only can inflict. And when a Civil Magistrate is applied to on such Occasions, he must inform himself in the Matter by such Methods as he thinks best, and is no more tied up by Ecclesiastical Rules in the Case of a Bishop, than in the Case of any other Man. Now the Complaints against *Athanasius*, which were made to *Constantine*, and for the Examination of which, he called a Council of the Eastern Bishops, and ordered them to assemble at *Tyre*, (which is the case particularly referred to by the Querist) were of this sort. (t) They first accused *Athanasius* of levying Money in *Egypt* for the use of one that was going about to usurp the Empire; for which *Athanasius* was immediately summoned to *Constantinople*, heard and tried by the Emperor himself, and being acquitted, was sent back to his Diocese. Then he was accused of cutting off a Man's Hand, of getting a Wench with Child, and other Matters, which deserved not only a Spiritual

(t) Theod. Hist. Eccles. cap. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Censure, but to be corrected by the Secular Judge, if they could be proved : These things Constantine ordered to be tried before the Council of Tyre, where Athanasius also cleared himself, by shewing that the Man whom he was accused to have maimed, had both his Hands safe and sound. And when the Wench who pretended he had got her with Child came to give her Evidence against him, it appeared that she knew him not, and calling another Man by his Name, charged that Man with it. Then Athanasius went to the Emperor to satisfy him concerning these Matters ; and there his Adversaries brought a new Accusation against him, as that he had prohibited the Carriage of Corn from Egypt to Constantinople. The Emperor hearing this, and believing it, without any further Examination of the Matter, banished Athanasius to Treves in Gallia. Now what was there in all this but a meer Civil or Secular Judicature, which undoubtedly belonged to the Emperor ? And he might try such Causes in what manner he thought fit.

§ XLVII. But then it is asked, Did not the Emperor Gratian in the fourth Century, when the slowness of Proceedings by Synods, was become a Grievance, ordain by his Civil Authority, that Damasus Bishop of Rome, and any five or seven Bishops with him, should be sufficient for deposing of Bishops ? And did not the Roman Synod then fitting readily accept that Constitution ? Now, for my part, 'till I see a Substantial Proof of this pretended Ordinance of Gratian, (but it is not the Business of a Querist to prove any thing) I shall say that Emperor never made any such Decree, nor was there any Council of Rome that accepted it. But this I do find, (u) That as soon as Gratian, upon the Death of his Uncle Valens, came to the Possession of

(u) Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 2.

the whole Empire, he thought fit to take the Catholick Church which *Valens* had persecuted into his Protection. And forasmuch as *Valens* had banished almost all the Catholick Bishops within his Part of the Empire, or at least put them out of the Possession of their Churches, *Gratian* thought proper to restore the Catholick Bishops to those Possessions out of which they had been unjustly ejected. And forasmuch as all the Catholick Bishops were known to be of one Communion, and to hold no Communion with the *Arians*, or any other Hereticks or Schismatics: Therefore whoever held Communion with a Catholick Bishop was esteemed to be a Catholick himself by all Persons: For this Reason, that the Governors of the several Provinces of the Empire might know to what Bishops they were to give Possession, he made a Law by which he order'd all the ejected Pastors to return from Banishment, and that they should be restored to their Flocks; and that the Holy Churches should be delivered to such as embraced the Communion of *Damasus*. This is the whole Decree of the Emperor *Gratian* that I can find concerning this Matter; not a Word of *Damasus* or any five or seven Bishops with him to depose a Bishop; not a Word of any Roman Synod sitting at that Time, and accepting this Constitution; that is all Dream and Fiction. And now what is there in all that *Gratian* did but what is purely secular, and belongs to the Civil Magistrate? and therefore he might proceed in it in such a Way as liked him best. He neither made nor deposed any Bishop: He pretended not to take away the Relation between a Bishop and his People, but only restored the rightful Pastors to their proper Flocks, from which they had been banished. And because some might, upon this Imperial Favour, pretend to be Catholick Bishops that really were not so, what better Rule could he give the Governors of his Provinces on this Occasion, than to direct them to restore such Bishops as were

In the Communion of *Damasus*, the Catholick Bishop of the Imperial City? The Church even in the Reign of Heathen Emperors never pretended to eject Hereticks out of Houses, Lands or Edifices which they had got or kept Possession of, though they were such Things as were notoriously known to belong to the Church; (w) as we learn from the famous Case of *Paulus Samosatenus*: He being accused of Heresy, a Council was assembled to try and examine that Matter: They found him guilty, and accordingly deposed him and ordained *Domnus* in his Room. But *Paul* having Possession of the Episcopal House would not quit it. Neither did the Bishops pretend that by their own Authority they could eject him from it: But they applied to the Emperor *Aurelian*, an Heathen, and not long after a Persecutor of the Church; and he ordered, that Possession should be given to him to whom the Bishop of *Rome* and the other Bishops of *Italy* should direct; which was done accordingly, and *Domnus* obtain'd the Possession. May it not now as well be asked, If *Aurelian*, an Heathen Emperor, did not authorize the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of *Italy* to depose the Bishop of *Antioch*, as to ask if *Gratian* did not authorize *Damasus*, and Five or Seven Bishops more to depose any Bishop? But the plain Answer is, That the Bishop was deposed and the Communion settled in a regular Ecclesiastical Method according to Divine Institution, before *Aurelian* was applied to in the Case. And then when he was to judge concerning the Right of Possession, he took such a Method for examining the Merits of the Cause (as far as he was concerned in it) as to him seemed most proper. And if *Aurelian* would have given no Judgment at all, or had given a wrong Judgment, and confirmed *Paulus* in his unjust Posses-

(w) *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* l. 7. c. 30.

sion, this would have madeno Alteration in the Matter of Communion. Those that had communicated with *Domnus*, would have been the *Catholicks*, and those who had adhered to *Paulus*, the *Schismaticks*, which way soever the Emperor had judged. And so it was in the Case of *Gratian* the Christian Emperor. His Decree did not make the *Orthodox* of the true Communion, nor the *Arians* of the false one. The *Orthodox* were as much the true Communion under *Valens*, who persecuted and ejected them, as they were under *Gratian* that restored and protected them. The different Edicts of these two Emperors made no Difference in this Case. And the *Arians* were as much Hereticks and *Schismaticks* under an *Arian* Emperor, who gave them Possession of the Churches, as they were under an *Orthodox* Emperor, who ejected them out of the Churches. And the Case was the same here under Queen *Elizabeth*, which is the next Query I shall consider.

§. XLVIII. It is asked, *Was the Church of England Schismatick under Queen Elizabeth, when she in Parliament deprived several Bishops for not acknowledging her Supremacy?* Did even the Roman Catholicks that questioned the Queen's Title at that Time or afterwards on that Score of depriving the Bishops separate from the established Prayers? Were the Acts of the Bishops that filled the Sees of the deprived Bishops Invalid, or their Ordinations under this imagined Schism null? But I desire the Querist to inform me who imagines that there was any Schism made at that Time? And I shall answer in direct Terms, That the Church of England was not schismatick under Queen Elizabeth, though she and her Parliament deprived several Bishops for not acknowledging her Supremacy. And therefore the Acts of the Bishops that filled the Sees of the deprived Bishops were not Invalid or Null in any respect. And as to what the Roman Catholicks did upon that Occasion, I think our Cause

not

not at all concerned in the Case. If they were guilty of any Inconsistency in their Actings, what is that to those who are not of their Communion ? I shall therefore proceed to consider this Case more particularly without any Regard to the Compliances of the *Romanists* in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign ; for none of them that we read of came to the Publick Prayers after the Tenth Year of her Reign. But if they had all come to them even to this Day, what is it to the Purpose ? Are we that have solemnly renounced *Popery* and all the Corruptions of the *Romish* Church to be directed by the Practice of those who continue in that Communion ? No, it is the Scriptures and the Practice of the truly Primitive Church founded on the Scriptures that must be our Guide in this as well as other Matters. But I suppose this Querist would have the World think that all who are for the Independency of the Church upon the State are Favourers of the Church of *Rome*. Whereas it was the Church of *Rome* which first destroyed the true Primitive Independency of the Church, and let in the *Regale* upon it, that by joining with the Princes of the World to suppress the Power of other Bishops, they might raise the *Pontificate* or Power of the *Roman Bishop* to an higher Pitch than it could have obtain'd by any other Means. And were the Church restored to her true Primitive Independency, Popery must fall of Course. For Popery is built on the Destruction of Provincial Synods, which was the highest standing Authority of the Church, till the Patriarchs first, and then the Popes usurped upon them.

But to return to the Affair of Queen *Elizabeth*. The *English* Church having long groaned under the Papal Tyranny which had, by gradual Methods, been permitted to usurp upon the Rights of all the Bishops of the *West*, as well as upon Princes, the Bishops of this Realm in the Reign of King *Henry*

ry VIII. joined with that Prince to cast off that Yoke so contrary to the original Rights and Privileges of all Provincial or National Churches, and to renounce that Obedience which the Pope, contrary to the Laws of God and Man, had exacted from them. They found, that in the Primitive Church all Provincial Churches were so far independent upon each other as to own no Superiority of one Provincial Church or Metropolitan above another ; but Matters were finally determined in the Synod of each Province, and they held a fraternal Communion without any other Subordination, than that of the Suffragans of each Province to their respective Metropolitans or Archbishops ; that when they met in larger Synods, as they sometimes did, it was in a Fraternal way ; and though at such Times it was usual to give the Primacy of Honour or Place to the Bishop of the greatest See, such as at that Time were *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria* ; yet this gave them no Jurisdiction over other Metropolitans or their Synods ; nor was any Province bound by the Decrees of those larger Synods any further than they had bound themselves by their Delegates whom they had sent thither to consent for them, or afterwards freely receivcd them. This, when Learning began to revive, our Bishops discovered, and therefore justly refused to allow the Pope or any other foreign Bishop any Jurisdiction in this Realm, though they seemed not unwilling to have held a fraternal Communion with him, if that would have been accepted ; but nothing but a Submission to the pretended Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome* would satisfy the Pope, and that being justly denied, the Communion was broke and a Schism formed. But the Schism is not to be laid to the Charge of the English Bishops who only asserted their own Independent Right, and refused not a Fraternal Communion with the Pope, but he with them : So that from that Time the Pope and

and his Adherents commenced Schismatics with relation to the *English Church*, and the *Schism* must be charged upon him for refusing to communicate with this Church, only because she would no longer bear his Usurpations and Encroachments upon her Primitive Liberties. After this, upon further Enquiry into the Scriptures, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, our Bishops also found that many Errors and Corruptions both in Doctrine and Discipline had been introduced, these in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* thy took care to reform, endeavouring to reduce all to the true Primitive Pattern about the Time of the Council of *Nice*; and in all Probability had reduced it exactly to that Plan if they would have depended on their own Learning and Judgment, and had not sent for *Martyr* and *Bucer* to consult with on this Occasion. However, as it was, 'twas a very good Reformation, and brought this Church nearer to the Primitive than any Church at that time or now in the World. And though I conceive, that it has some Defects, and might be made more Primitive; yet it has all Things necessary to Salvation. But this Reformation of our Church more enraged the *Papists*, who instead of being brought to a Sight of their Errors by it and to the Correction of them, became more obstinate and confirm'd all their Corruptions and Errors in the Council of *Trent*, making them also Articles of Faith, and thereby adding Heresy to their Schism. So that our *English Church* became the only Church in this Part of the World with which a Man could safely communicate, all the rest having either no Bishops to be the Centres of Unity and Communion, as the Reformed abroad, both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, or only such Bishops as were both *Heretical* and *Schismatical* as the *Papists*, who refused Communion with us merely because we thought proper to cast off the Papal

pal Usurpation, and those corrupt Novelties they had introduced, and resolved to be guided by the Scriptures and Practice of the Primitive Church. When Queen *Mary* came to the Crown she turned out the Catholick and Orthodox Bishops which her Brother King *Edward* left in Possession of the Bishopricks. Some of these, as *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Hooper* and *Farrar*, she condemned to the Flames; others, as *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, she forced to fly to save their Lives. But it was the Catholick, Orthodox reformed Bishops that were still the rightful Bishops of the Church of *England*, and the Bishops with whom the Martyrs of that Reign held Communion and owned for their Bishops. The Popish Bishops, though possessed of the publick Churches and Revenues, and under the Protection of the State, were nevertheless the Schismaticks as well as Hereticks who intruded into the Sees of the Catholick and Orthodox Bishops. So that when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and with the Consent of her Parliament turned out the Popish Bishops and restored the Catholick Orthodox Bishops to their Flocks: She acted but as a good Prince ought to do, restoring and protecting the true Bishops and the true Religion, and ejecting and discouraging false Bishops and false Religion. And had Queen *Elizabeth* still continued the Popish Bishops in their several Bishopricks as Queen *Mary* did, no true Catholick and Orthodox Christian who held fast to the Communion of the truly Primitive, Catholick, and Apostolick Church of Christ, to which Communion our reformed Bishops had returned, could have communicated with them without Sin, both as they were Schismatical by intruding into full Sees, or had joyned Communion with those that did so, and as the Terms of Communion which they imposed upon their Spiritual Subjects, were sinful, and such as could not be lawfully complied with. So that when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown she did not make the Bishop-

Bishopricks vacant, but found them so as to all Spiritual Power ; for an Heretick or Schismatick cannot fill a Bishop's See though he get Possession of it. But she found several Heretical and Schismatical Bishops possessed of the Temporalities of the English Bishopricks, and that she and her Parliament deprived them of, and put Catholick and Orthodox Bishops into them. And we all agree, that Possession of Temporalities, when unjustly and forceably detained from the right Owners, must be given by the Civil Magistrate, who alone has the Power to do Right to those that suffer Wrong in such Cases. And the Primitive Christians allowed this even to Heathen Princes, that they alone could forceably eject such as had gotten a wrongful Possession of the Temporalities of a Church, as we have seen before in the Case of *Paulus Samosatensis*, when they applied to the Emperor *Aurelian* to eject him out of the Episcopal House at *Antioch*.

§ XLIX. But then it is further asked, *If Schism renders the Administration of all Ministerial Offices ineffectual, and if the Pretensions of more than one to the same See makes a Schism, what shall be said for the Orders of the English, and indeed of the whole Western Church, which were received from Bishops in Communion with Antipopes who kept up a Schism for seventy Years together? Were the People all this Time, and since, deprived of all Benefit of Divine Ordinances without their Fault?* To this it may be answered, That Orders given and received in Schism, though ineffectual for that Time, as S. Paul teaches, that all Gifts and Graces are, where Charity is wanting, which cannot be had in Schism, for the Apostle particularly applies it to that Case ; yet are not therefore wholly Null and Invalid ; and consequently when the Schism is healed, and the Schismaticks returned to Catholick Communion, the Orders given and received in Schism become effectual also ; and the same may be said of the Administration of other Ministerial Offices. And therefore,

fore those who received their Orders from Antipopes or from Bishops in Communion with Antipopes, upon their Return to the true Communion, became rightful Bishops and Priests and their Ministrations then became effectual, though they were not so before. This Schism therefore though it continued seventy Years ; yet being at last healed, and both Parties joined in one Communion, the Orders on both Sides, and all other Ministerial Offices became effectual. And this sufficiently secures the Orders of the *English*, and would do so of the whole *Western Church*, if the other Parts of the *Western Church* had not since made a New Schism by refusing and rejecting the *English Church*, and thrusting her out of their Communion, because she judged it necessary to return to the Catholick Communion of the truly Apostolick Primitive Church, and to reform those Errors and Corruptions which had fully'd and defaced her ancient Purity. And for this Reason, though we cannot communicate with a Popish Bishop or Priest, and look upon his Ministrations as effectual ; yet if he shall renounce his Errors and return to the true Catholick Communion of the Church of *England*, we receive him as a *Bishop* or *Priest* without giving him any new Ordination ; nor have we then any Doubt of the Effect of his Ministrations. Thus *Anthony Kitchin*, the Schismatical Popish Bishop of *Llandaff*, in Queen *Mary's Reign*, upon his coming over to the Catholick Communion of the Church of *England* in Queen *Elizabeth's Reign*, was received and acknowledged as a true Catholick Bishop by all the Bishops of this Realm, and enjoyed his Bishoprick to his dying Day. So the Archbishop of *Spalato*, a Popish Bishoprick in *Dalmatia*, under the Government of the *Venetians*, coming hither and declaring himself to be of our Communion, was received as a Bishop, (x) being admitted to assist

(x) Heylin's Life of *Archbishop Laud.* p. 107.

Archbishop Abbot at the Consecration of some English Bishops in the Chapel at Lambeth. This is agreeable to the Practice of the ancient Church with relation to the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, *Arians*, and other Hereticks or Schismaticks. Thus the Council of Nice (y) decreed as to the *Novatians*, who had then kept up a Schism in the Church above sixty Years; and continued it 150 Years more, calling themselves by the Name of *Puritans*. I will give it according to the Learned Mr. Johnson's Translation in the *Vade-Mecum*. *As to those who call themselves Puritans, if they come over to the Catholick and Apostolick Church, the Holy Synod Decrees, that they who are ordain'd shall continue in the Clergy; having first professed in Writing, that they will adhere to the Decrees of the Catholick Church; that is, that they will communicate with those that have married a second Time, and such as have lapsed under Persecution.* When none but they are found to be ordain'd in any City or Village, they shall remain in the same Order; but if any come over where there is a Bishop or Priest of the Catholick Church, 'tis clear, that the Bishop of the Church ought to retain his Dignity; and he that had been named Bishop by the Puritans, shall have the Honour of a Priest; unless the Bishop think fit to impart to him the Nominal Honour of a Bishop: Otherwise he shall provide for him the Place of a Village-Bishop or Priest; that so there may not be two Bishops in one City: The *Novatians* differed not at all from the Catholicks in their Form of Government or of Divine Worship, only in two Points of Discipline here mentioned, they would allow none to continue in their Communion who had marry'd a second Time; or who had lapsed or renounced the Christian Faith in Time of Persecution, such as these they would not receive even upon Repentance, which the Catholick Church did: And therefore the Church required no more of them than to promise, under their Hand-Writing,

(y) Concil. Nicæn. Cæn. 8.

that they would conform in these Particulars. But their Schism was formed as has been before shewed by their putting other Bishops into full Sees; and therefore the Council took particular Care of that Matter; and though it allowed their Orders to be good upon their Return to the Unity of the Church and relinquishing their Schism, and gave them leave to keep Possession of such Bishopricks as they had got where no Catholick Bishop could claim against them, yet they could not allow a *Novatian* Bishop to continue to be Bishop of such a See as had a Catholick Bishop before such a *Novatian* returned to the Communion of the Church. In that Case they allowed him to act only as a Presbyter under the Catholick Bishop, though he might retain the Nominal Honour of a Bishop, and so precede all the other Presbyters: Or might be appointed Bishop of a Village, there to perform such Episcopal Acts as the Bishop of the City should intrust him to perform, and for which he should be accountable to the Bishop of the City who was to be esteemed his Superior, and without whose Commission he should perform no Episcopal Act, that so there might not be two Bishops, the one of which depended not upon or owed no Subjection to the other, in one City. The Council therefore plainly allowed the Orders given and received in the *Novatian* Schism to be good and such as needed not to be repeated, though their Schism or Breach of Charity made them ineffectual or unprofitable so long as they continued in Schism: But when that Breach was healed by their Return to the Unity of the Church, then their Orders also became effectual and profitable as if that Breach had not been. So it was also in the Case of the *Donatists* who had made a Schism just as the *Novatians* had done before them, by putting Bishops into full Sees. For thus the (z) *A-*

(z) Can. 63. aliter 71.

frican Council decreed, whose Canons were after received into the Code of the Universal Church, which I will also give according to the Reverend and Learned Mr. Johnsen's Translation and Abridgment : That Letters be sent to our Fellow-Bishops, and especially to the Apostolical See, in which our venerable Brother and Colleague Anastasius presides, to let them know that we receive those who were Clergy-men among the Donatists, upon their Conversion, with the same Honour that they enjoyed among the Donatists, if the Bishop of the Place think fit, according to the Custom of the Church of Africk, although by a Transmarine Council, which we do not pretend to annull, the contrary has been ordered. Whether Heretical or Schismatical Clergy-men should be admitted as Bishops, Priests or Deacons, according to the Station they were in amongst their own Party, or whether they should only be admitted to Lay-Communion upon their Return to the Church, was a Matter of Discipline; wherein the Church acted as she judged most expedient and prudential. For though Heretics and Schismatics had true Orders, yet the Churck might receive such as had those Orders to Lay-Communion only, even as she might reduce a Catholick Bishop or Priest to Lay-Communion, for such Crimes as she should judge to deserve that Punishment. And so they dealt with the *Donatists*: they left the Bishop of the Place to judge whether he would receive them as Laicks or as Clerks. And though a Transmarine Council had not left that Liberty to the Bishops of the Province where that Council was held, that is no Argument that even that Council did not think them to have true Orders, only they did not think it proper that Men who had long and obstinately persisted in such a grievous Sin, and been such implacable Enemies to the Catholick Church, should immediately be allowed to possess the highest Honours in the Church: But should at least continue some time in Lay-Communion,

nion, to give the fuller Testimony of the Sincerity of their Conversion. For we never find that any Converts from *Donatism*, who had been ordained in that Schism were ever after required to be re-ordained: When or wheresoever they were admitted into the Number of the Catholick Clergy, they were always admitted without a new Ordination. So *S. Augustine* (a) tells *Parmenian* the *Donatist Bishop*; saying; *For whensoever Bishops and Presbyters coming over from that Party are received for Peace-sake upon renouncing their Error; and it seem proper that they should execute the same Functions they performed before, they are not again ordained; but as their Baptism, so their Ordination remains entire: Because the Fault was in the Schism, which is corrected by a Return to Peace and Unity; not in the Sacraments; which wheresoever they be are the same.* And we learn from *S. Jerome's Dialogue* with the *Luciferian*; that the only Reason why *Lucifer* and his Party separated from the *Catholick Church* was, because the *Catholick Church* received *Arian Bishops, Priests and Deacons*, as *Bishops, Priests and Deacons* of the *Catholick Church* upon their Conversion without any Re-Ordination, although the *Arians* were *Hereticks* as well as *Schismaticks*. And yet these Ancients who thus allowed the Validity of *Schismatical or Heretical Ordinations and Baptisms*; held them to be ineffectual and unprofitable to Salvation. *S. Augustine*, who was present in that Council of *Carthage* above cited; where it was decreed, that the *Donatist Clergy* might be received as *Clergy-men* upon their

(a) *Nam si quando ex ipsa parte venientes etiam præpositi pro bono pacis corredio Schismatis errore suscepti sunt, & si visum est opus esse ut eadem Officia gererent quæ gerebant, non sunt rursus ordinati; sed sicut Baptismus in eis, ita ordinatio mansit integra: quia in Præcisione fuerat vitium, quod in Unitatis pace corretum est; non in Sacramentis, quæ ubique sunt, ipsa sunt.* *August. contr. Epift. Parmen. L. 2. c. 13. §. 28.*

coming over to the Catholick Church, and also in several Parts of his Works, declares it to have been the Practice of the Church, one of which Passages I have already quoted, yet maintained and proved that this did not render their Ministrations operative and effectual so long as they continued in Schism. This the Donatists took Advantage of, and argued thus ; *If our Orders are good and our Baptism good, so that upon our coming over to you they need not be repeated, then our Ministrations are not ineffectual and unoperative, as you pretend.* And since you do not rebaptize nor re-ordain any that go over from our Communion to yours, you plainly allow these Ministrations at least to be effectual, otherwise you would repeat them. And if these Ministrations are effectual, then all our Ministrations are so, and consequently Salvation is to be obtained in our Communion, which is the Thing you deny. The Subject of S. Augustine's Books against the Donatists concerning Baptism seems chiefly designed to clear this Point. But there is one Passage which does it demonstratively, which though pretty long, yet I think proper to transcribe, because it gives an effectual Answer to the Query now under Consideration, and shews, that though the Ministrations of Schismatics are ineffectual whilst they continue in Schism ; yet Orders derived from Schismatics are not therefore Null and Invalid, nor the Ministration of Persons so ordained ineffectual upon their Return to the Unity of the Church. (b) *I will, says he, produce some Arguments out of the Gospel, with which, by the Lord's Help, I demonstrate, how it is rightly and truly pleasing*

(b) Ex Evangelio profero certa documenta, quibus Domino adjuvante demonstro, quam recte placuerit & vere secundum Deum, & hoc in quoquam Schismatico vel Hæretico Ecclesiastica Medicina curaret, in quo vulnera separabatur; illud autem quod sanum maneret, agnatum potius approbaretur,

to God, that the Ecclesiastical Medicine should cure every Schismatick or Heretick of that Wound by which he was separated ; but that which remained sound and good being known to be so should rather be approved, than that it should be wounded by being disapproved. Surely the Lord says in the Gospel, ¶ He that is not with me is against me ; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad. Yet when the Disciples told him * that they saw one casting out Devils in his Name, and forbade him because he followed not with them : He said, Forbid him not : For he that is not against us is for us. For there is no Man which shall do a Miracle in my Name that can lightly speak Evil of me. If there was nothing to be corrected in him, then every one is secure, who being out of the Communion of the Church gathers in Christ's Name, being disjoined from the Christian Society : And so that shall be false, He that is not with me is against me ; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. But if that which our Lord's Disciples would have done through Ignorance, was to be corrected in him ; upon which our Lord said, Forbid him not : Why did he prohibit him to be forbidden ? And how shall that be true which he there says, He that is not against us is for us ? For in this Matter he was not against them but for them, when he cured Diseases in the Name

quam improbatum vulneraretur. Certe Dominus in Evangelio dicit, qui non est tecum adversus me est, & qui tecum non colligit, spargit. Tamen cum ad eum discipuli retulissent, vidisse se quendam in ejus nomine pellentem dæmonium, & prohibuisse, quia cum illis eum non sequitur : Nolite, inquit, prohibere ; Qui contra vos non est, pro vobis est. Non potest enim quisquam in meo nomine facere aliquid, & male loqui de me. Si nihil in illo correndum erat ; securus ergo sit quisquis extra Communionem Ecclesie constitutus colligit in Christi nomine, dissociatus a Christiana Societate : Atque ita falsum erit illud, Qui non est tecum, adversum me est ; August. de Baptism. contra Donatistas lib. 1. cap. 7, & 9.

¶ Matt. xii. 30. * Luk. ix. 49, 50. and Mark ix. 38, 39.

of Christ. That therefore both Sayings may be true, as well that, where he says, He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad; as that, where he says, Forbid him not, for he that is not against us is for us: What remains to be understood, but that he was to be confirmed in his Veneration of so great a Name, wherein he was not against the Church, but for the Church; and yet to be blamed in that Separation, wherein if he gathered he scattered abroad; and if by chance he came to the Church, he should not there receive what he had already, but should amend that wherein he had erred? For the Prayers of Cornelius an Heathen were heard and his Alms accepted: And he even obtained the Favour to have an Angel sent to him, and being sent to see him, and from whom he might, without any Man's coming, have learned all Things necessary. But because whatever there was good in his Prayers and Alms, unless by the Bands of Christian Society and Peace he was incorporated into the Church, could not profit him; he is commanded to send for Peter, and by him he learns Christ; by him he is also baptized, and is also joined to the Christian People by the Band of Communion, to which he was joined only in the Similitude of good Works. For it would have been pernicious to him to have despised the Good which he yet had not, being proud of that which he had. So also those who separating themselves from the Society of the Rest, by the Violation of Charity break the Band of Unity, if they do none of those Things which they received in that Society, they are separate in all Things: And therefore whosoever they have associated to them, if he would come into the Church, he ought to receive all that he has not received. But if they do some of the same Things, they have not separated in those Matters; they are yet joined in that Part, in the other they are cut off. Therefore if they join any one to themselves, he is in that Part joined to the Church in which they are not separated from it: And therefore if he would come into the Church, he is to be healed in that where being torn from it he erred: But where,

where he was sound, and joined to it, he is not cured, but acknowledged; lest when we would cure that which is well already, we should rather give a Wound. Therefore those whom they (the Donatists) baptize, they cure of the Wound of Idolatry or Infidelity; but they strike him deeper with the Wound of Schism. For ¶ those that were Idolaters amongst God's People were slain but with the Sword: * But the Earth opened and swallowed up the Schismatics alive. || And the Apostle says, Though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, and have not Charity, I am nothing. If any one is brought to a Physician grievously wounded in any Vital Part of his Body, if the Physician shall say, he must die unless this be cured, I do not suppose that they which brought him will be so foolish as to count and number up his other Parts which are sound, and say, Then are not so many sound Parts sufficient to save his Life, and yet that one wounded one is enough to kill him? They say not so, but bring him to be cured; neither because they bring him to be cured, do they ask the Physician to cure those Parts which are sound; but that he would immediately apply a Remedy to that one Place from whence Death is at hand, though all the other Members are whole, and unless that be cured Death will come. What then does it profit a Man to have a sound Faith, or perhaps only a sound Sacrament of Faith, when the Soundness of his Charity is destroyed by the deadly Wound of Schism, by the sole Destruction of which those whole Parts are drawn into Death? Which that it may not be, the Mercy of God fails not, but has provided that through the Unity of his holy Church they may come and be healed by the Medicine of Reconciliation through the Bond of Peace. Neither let them therefore think themselves sound, because we say that they have something sound: Nor again let them think that therefore that is to be cured which is sound, because we have shewed there is something that is wounded. Therefore in the Soundness of the Sacrament, because they are not against us they are for us: But in the Wound

† Exod. xxxii. 28.

* Num. xvi. 32.

|| 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

of Schism, because they are not with Christ they scatter abroad. Why do they proudly look only upon those Things that are sound? Let them also humbly observe their Wound, and not regard only that which they have, but that which they want. Let them see how many and how great Things profit not, if one certain Thing be wanting, and let them see what that one Thing is; neither let them hear me, but the Apostle. ¶ Though, says he, I speak with the Tongues of Men and of Angels, and have not Charity, I am become as sounding Brass or a tinkling Cymbal. And though I have the Gift of Prophecy, and understand all Mysteries, and all Knowledge, and though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, and have not Charity, I am nothing. What then does it profit them though they have an Angelick Voice in sacred Mysteries, or even the Gift of Prophecy, as Caiaphas and Saul, as those may sometimes prophecy whom the Scriptures witness to have been in a damnable State? If they not only know the Sacraments, but have them as Simon Magus had: If they have Faith, as the Devils confessed Christ; For they were not unbelieving when they said, * What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God, we know who thou art. If they give all their Substance to the Poor, as many not only in the Catholick Church, but in divers Heresies do. If upon the arising of any Persecution they deliver their Body with us to the Flames, for the Faith which they likewise profess; yet because they do these things in Separation, not suffering together in Love, nor studying to preserve the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, therefore having not Charity, even all those Things cannot profit them, and they shall not attain to eternal Life. This Holy Father has here shewn the Reasonableness of the Churches proceeding in this Case with regard to Hereticks and Schismaticks, that although she allowed the Validity

† 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.

* Mark i. 24.

of their Orders and Baptism and other Ministriations which they had in common with the *Catholick Church*; yet she denied that these could be effectual to Salvation in Heresy or Schism, because there was one Thing wanting, and that was *Charity*, without which the Apostle has taught us, that all things else are nothing worth. And the same Apostle has also taught us, that this *Charity* consists in preserving the Unity of the Church, which is always broken by Heresy and Schism. And the setting up one Bishop in Opposition to another, or putting a new Bishop into a Bishoprick already possessed by a Catholick Bishop, was ever called a Schism, because it divided the Flock from the Communion of their rightful Bishop with whom they ought to be always in Communion. And the Schism at *Corinth*, as I have shewed plainly, arose from some Mens coming in there and drawing away the People from the Communion of S. Paul their rightful Bishop; in other Matters, for ought appears to the contrary, they were Orthodox enough. And this *Schism* of the *Donatists* which S. *Augustine* wrote against, arose only from the setting up *Majorinus* to be Bishop of *Carthage*, when that See was already filled by *Cecilian* the rightful Catholick Bishop of that Church: As the *Novatian Schism* began at *Rome* by putting *Novatian* into that See, whilst it was filled by *Cornelius* the Catholick Bishop. And the Church plainly had S. Paul's Authority, or rather the Authority of the Holy Ghost to declare, that the *Ministration of Divine Offices in such Schismatical Communions was ineffectual, that is, unprofitable to Salvation*, notwithstanding the Orders and Sacraments were in all other Respects valid and regular, and therefore needed not to be repeated upon their Reconciliation to Catholick Communion; and therefore whether our Orders are derived from Schismaticks or Catholicks, it Matters not, so as we be in Catholick Communion.

§ L. But says the Querist, There was a Schism kept up in the Western Church for seventy Years together ; were the People all this Time and since deprived of all Benefit of Divine Ordinances, without their Fault ? Now as to the Time since, I have sufficiently answered it already ; for the Schism being healed, the Word and Sacraments were rightly and duly administred by all the Bishops and Priests of both Parties, whether they had been Schismatical or not ; I mean as to any Deficiency or Ineffectualness occasioned by the Schism. But the other Question still remains, Were the People, for seventy Years together, during the Time that Schism lasted, deprived of all Benefit of Divine Ordinances, without their Fault ? Now the same Question might be asked with Regard to the Novatian and Donatist Schisms which continued more than seventy Years. For the Novatian Schism began about the Year 251, when Novatian was put into the See of Rome in Opposition to Cornelius the rightful Bishop, and did not end till after 440, where Socrates finishes his History, during which Time he gives us a Catalogue of the Novatian Bishops at Constantinople in a constant Succession one to another, and how long they continued afterwards we do not find. The Donatist Schism began about the Year 311, when Majorinus was made Bishop of Carthage in Opposition to Cecilian the rightful Bishop, who was before legally possessed of that Chair, and continued till after the Conference at Carthage in the Year 411. So that one of these Schisms continued two hundred Years at least, and the other above an hundred Years. These Schisms were formed purely upon the setting up Anti-Bishops in Opposition to the Rightful Bishops, who were before legally possessed of their Bishopricks, and whom no regular Episcopal Synod had judged to have fallen from their Bishopricks by Transgression. Novatian also, and his Party, was (as I have before

before shewed) supported by *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, the Emperors at that Time, who banished *Cornelius* and *Lucius*, one after the other, the Rightful Bishops of *Rome*, and left *Novatian* in the sole Possession. The *Donatists* also, (c) as we learn from *Optatus*, who has given us the fullest Account of the Rise and Progress of that *Schism*, were so supported by the Emperor *Julian*, that they drove away the Catholick Bishops in divers Places, invaded their Churches, and kept Possession of them. What should the People do in these Cases? The Catholick Bishops were driven away by the Sovereign Imperial Authority without their Fault? They could not have the Word and Sacraments from Catholick Bishops and their Presbyters, but privately and with great Danger; but they might have them from the *Novatians* or *Donatists* openly and without any Danger at all. The *Novatians* and the *Donatists* ministred them also just in the same Manner that the Catholicks did; there was no manner of Difference in their Liturgies or Forms of Worship; and the People could not help it that the Catholick Bishops were disabled from officiating among them. When therefore they received these Divine Ordinances from these Schismatical Bishops, or their Priests, were those Ordinances ineffectual to their Salvation? Were they deprived of the Benefit of them? The Church always held they were so, and that upon the Authority of the Scriptures, which teach us, as *S. Augustine* has observed, that *Schism* breaks the Band of Charity, and without Charity all Divine Ordinances whatsoever are unprofitable. But shall the People be deprived of this Benefit *without their Fault*? In answer to which it may be asked, how this can be *without their Fault*? Is it not their Fault, if they will join themselves to Hereticks

(c) *Optat. contra Parmenian. lib. 2.*

or Schismaticks, and go to them for these Divine Ordinances, which it is so plain they cannot effectually minister? It may be said, perhaps, that they are so placed that they must receive them from such Persons, or not at all. Then let them not receive them at all: For it is no Sin if a Man receives not the Sacraments, who lies under an Impossibility of receiving them; as suppose a *Christian* to be left alone in an Heathen Country, which has sometimes happened, for many Years, will it be a Sin in him, or put him out of the State of Salvation, that he joins in no Publick Worship, nor receives the Holy Eucharist for such a Number of Years, or may happen to die in that State? But it is a Sin to make or abet a Schism, and he that joins in Divine Ordinances with a Schismatick abets and encourages the *Schism*, and therefore is not deprived of the Benefit of those Ordinances without his Fault. But it may be he knows not the Minister from whom he receives these Ordinances is a Schismatick. Then it is his Fault that he did not inform himself better: For Schism is a Thing of a Publick Nature in which any Man may easily inform and satisfy himself which is the Right. Thus for Instance, there was no Christian at *Rome* but did, or at least might know that *Cornelius* was the Rightful Bishop, being lawfully possessed of the Bishoprick, and consecrated thereto after a considerable Vacancy which followed the Death of *Eabianus*: And that *Novatian* was not consecrated nor appointed to be Bishop till after the Episcopal Chair was regularly filled; consequently that *Novatian* was the Schismatick, and not *Cornelius*, even though *Cornelius* was banished by the Emperor, and *Novatian* left in the sole Possession, so far at least that *Cornelius*'s Presbyters were forced to officiate in Private, not in the publick Churches for fear of the Emperor. However, there was no Man but might easily know whether he received Divine Ordinances from

from a Catholick or Novatian Presbyter, and consequently whether he communicated with the Catholick or with the Schismatical Bishop. So at *Carthage* the People all knew that *Cecilian* was their lawful Bishop, and *Majorinus* an Intruder that got Possession of the See when it was full before, consequently could not but know which was the Schismatick : And when they received Divine Ordinances from any Presbyter, they could not but know whether he belonged to *Cecilian* or *Majorinus*; for they did not mix Communions so as to have it unknown to which Party any Presbyter belonged. And though one of these Schisms continued above 200 Years, and the other above an hundred ; yet during all that Time the Communions were distinct, (for had there been but one Communion there had been no Schism) and those who received Divine Ordinances knew with whom they communicated ; and therefore if they would notwithstanding receive Divine Ordinances from the Hand of those who could not effectually minister them to the Profit and Salvation of those who received them, it cannot be said that they were deprived of the Benefit of them without their own own Faults. And the like may be said with relation to those who lived in the Time of the Anti-Popes. If it be said, that during the Time of so long a Schism as seventy, an hundred or two hundred Years, many Persons must be born, who being educated in the Schism were, from their Infancy, taught to believe that to be the true Communion, who had not Means or Opportunities of enquiring into the Original of the Schism, and who hearing one Story from one Party, and another from the other Party, were unable to judge which was right and which was wrong : If they did continue in the Schismatical Communion, shall we say, that they were deprived of the Benefit of the Divine Ordinances when it is so apparent that it was not their own Faults ?

Faults ? It may be answered, That though this may mitigate or extenuate the Fault, yet it does not make it no Fault at all ; for though it may be difficult for a Man that has been prejudiced by an unhappy Education to find the Truth, as having been so persuaded from the Beginning that he was in the Right; that perhaps he never made it a Question that possibly he might be in the wrong ; yet this does not wholly excuse him if he should be in the Wrong, because he never made any Enquiry about it, or thought that he had Occasion to enquire. (d) Such a Person may possibly obtain Mercy, as S. Paul did, because what he does he does ignorantly. But our Saviour has taught us, That even Ignorance will not wholly excuse us in Matters relating to God, (e) For that Servant which knows not his Lord's Will, and therefore does commit Things worthy of Stripes, shall be beaten, though but with few Stripes. What Allowances God may make to those that are invincibly ignorant, or want Means of better Information, we cannot say ; we may hope well indeed, but we have no Word of God to direct us : It is the Duty of Ministers of the Gospel to inform the Ignorant, but it is no Part of their Duty to tell them that they are safe in their Ignorance ; if it was, it would be as well or better to let them continue Ignorant still, rather than trouble them with useless Knowledge ; for it must be useless if they can be as safe without it. And indeed to ask, whether all who lived and died in Schism were utterly deprived of the Benefit of all Divine Ordinances is no other than an Invidious Question, which makes nothing to the Merits of the Cause. Thus, if I would convert an Heathen, and in order thereto should tell him, that unless he becomes a Christian he cannot be saved ; (f) That there is none other

(d) 1 Tim. i. 13. (e) Luke xii. 48. (f) Act. iv. 12.

Name under Heaven given among Men whereby we must be saved, but only the Name of Jesus Christ; neither is there Salvation in any other. And in Answer to it he should say, What are my Friends and Relations then damned, who lived and died in the Religion which I profess, and who, I am sure, led as good Lives, and were as just and honest in their Dealings as any Christians? Did all their good Works, their Prayers and their Alms avail them nothing, because they did not believe in *Jesus Christ*, which was none of their Fault, for they never heard of him? Are all those many Nations of the World, in which the Gospel was never preached, or at least has not been preached for many hundreds of Years, to be deprived of all Hopes of Happiness hereafter, because they believe not in *Christ*, although they were never informed that there was such a Person; and therefore you cannot charge this Unbelief upon them as a Fault? The same may be said of the *Jews* and *Mahometans*, many of which never had Opportunity to hear one Word of *Christ*, and these *Heathens*, *Jews* and *Mahometans* are much more numerous than all the Sects of *Christians* put together, and many of them as strict and exemplary in their Lives as the very best of *Christians*; and do you damn all these to the Pit of Hell for that which is not their own Fault? What would all this signify to the Merits of the Cause, whether the Christian is the only true Religion? If I can prove the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and can shew from those Scriptures that Salvation is to be obtained through *Jesus Christ* alone, then all these Questions are impertinent and nothing to the Purpose. And I should not scruple to tell an *Heathen* who should ask such Questions by way of Objection to the Truths of *Christianity*; That how merciful soever God might be to his Forefathers, or any other living and dying in *Heathenism*, who had no Means of better Information, and tho' I would not go about to limit

God's

God's Mercies upon any Occasion, yet if he obstinately refused Instruction, I should assure him, that it would be worse with him than with them, (g) because having the Means of knowing his Lord's Will, yet he would not prepare himself, nor do according to his Will ; and that therefore he should be beaten with many Stripes. For how far soever invincible Ignorance may prove an Excuse for them, he is uncapable of making that Plea, since he might be better informed if he would. And the same might an Orthodox Catholick Christian have said to a Novatian or Donatist, or the Follower of an Anti-Pope when those Schisms were on Foot, if he had asked if the People of those Schismatical Communions were for seventy, an hundred, or two hundred Years deprived of the Benefit of Divine Ordinances without their Fault ? That, whatever became of the People who neither did nor could know better, this would be no Excuse for him that had an Opportunity of being better informed. That S. Paul has taught us that Schism breaks the Bond of Charity, and that without Charity all our Doings are nothing worth ; that this is the Rule we are to walk by, and that therefore where there is a Schism formed it behoves us to take heed that we adhere to the true Communion ; for if we should happen to be of the Schismatical Side we break the Band of Charity, and then the Scriptures tell us the Consequence ; and therefore it is impertinent to ask what is become of those who have died in the Schism, believing themselves to be in the Right, and who continued in it, as we may suppose, without Fault, because they knew no better. We must follow the Rule prescribed to us by the Scripture, and for those who deviate from that Rule, when they are gone hence they are gone to receive their Judgment from God,

(g) Luke xiii. 47.

and to his Judgment we must leave them. But the Scripture Rule must be our Guide; and not the Practice of Men, how great an Opinion soever we may have of them. Neither must we be afraid of condemning Schism, because the Schismatics may be the greater Number; or because they may have the secular Magistrate of their Side. The Novatians and the Donatists were, at some Times, and in some Places, the most powerful Party, and had the Emperors of their Side, and yet were as much Schismatics then as at any other Time. The Arians, during the Reigns of *Constantius* and *Valens*, that is above thirty Years, were the most numerous and powerful Party of Christians in the *East*, and the World seemed to be all of their Communion, yet were they no less Hereticks and Schismatics under those Emperors than they were under *Gratian* and *Theodosius*; by whom they were cast out of the Possession of the publick Churches. So also in this Realm, the Papists were much the most numerous and powerful in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and their Religion also was established by Parliament; and yet it would have been as sinful and as Schismatical in that Reign to have deserted the Reform'd Bishops and have joined the Popish ones, as it would have been before in the Reign of King *Edward VI*, or was afterward in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, or any Time since: For the Scripture has taught us, (b) that we shall not follow a Multitude to do Evil: Because though to follow the most numerous Party may be generally a Means to deliver us from the Vengeance of the greatest of Men, if our Offence be only against Man; yet Numbers can never secure us from the Vengeance of God, who can as easily punish many as few.

(b) *Exod. xxiii. 2.*

§ LI. Thus have I endeavoured to state and maintain the Independency of the Church and her Pastors upon the Civil Magistrate, as to its pure Spiritual Powers. And because the chief Objection against this Independency seemed to be drawn from a mistaken Notion, that our Church acknowledged the Sovereign of this Realm, whether King or Queen, for its supreme Head, I thought proper to shew, that though there was once an Act of Parliament which did give our Kings that Title, yet it was soon thought convenient to lay it aside, and that Queen Elizabeth, who was as jealous of her Prerogative as any Prince whatsoever, did not only think improper to reassume it, but did also expressly declare, *that it could not be given to any mortal Man*; and therefore, that from her Time, when the Reformation was fully settled, down to these Days, that Title has not been any Part of the Regal Stile of the Princes of this Realm, consequently that we are under no legal Obligation whatsoever to own or acknowledge any such Title to belong to them. I also thought convenient to shew, that as she disowned the Title, so she also disowned all Claim to any Spiritual Authority when she confirmed the xxxix Articles of the Church, wherein it was declared, that our Princes only claimed a Power to restrain, with the *Civil Sword*, the stubborn and evil Doers. Consequently whatever Penalties the Civil Magistrate does or can inflict, are only of a Civil Nature, and therefore can dissolve only such Relations and Obligations as are Civil and Temporal. From whence it follows, that when the Civil Power deprives or dispossesses a Man of his Bishoprick, it can only deprive him of those Temporal Rights which have been annexed to it by the Bounty of our Kings and Princes, such as his Seat in the House of Peers, the Title of Lord, and the actual Possession of the Lands and Revenues belonging to the

the See, because they are subject to the outward Force of the Temporal Power, which he must not forcibly resist. But as to the Spiritual Relation which he has to that Flock over which he presides as their Pastor; as that was not given him by the Temporal Power, so neither can the Civil Power take it away and give it to another. His Spiritual Relation to his People still remains the same it was; and if they forsake him to receive another Pastor, they are guilty of the Spiritual Crime of Schism, which is the Breach of Charity, and makes all Ministrations of the Word and Sacraments ineffectual and unoperative till that Breach is healed. This necessarily brought me into a Discourse of *Schism*, and obliged me to shew, from the Scriptures and the Practice of the Primitive Church to the Time of the Council of *Nice*, that the Primitive Bishops always looked upon those as Schismaticks, who set up other Bishops in Opposition to those who were before rightfully possess'd of their Bishopricks, and had not fallen from them by Transgression, of which Transgression the Synod or College of Neighbouring Bishops were, by our Saviour himself, made the proper and only Judges. And that all Bishops or others who set up such intruding Bishops, and adhered to, or communicated with them, were looked upon as Schismaticks: And that it did not matter though the Majority or greater Number made this Defection, tho' they had got Possession of all the publick Churches and of all the Revenues belonging to the Church, and were supported and protected by the Emperors, the Schism was always judged to be made by them who set up the other, or intruding Bishops, in Opposition to those who were first legally possest, although they taught no new Doctrine nor made any Alteration in the Offices of the Church, as we have seen in the Case of the *Novatians* and *Donatists*. And indeed it must be so if the Church be independent

on the State as to its pure Spiritual Powers, as I think I have proved it to be, and as it is so plainly acknowledged to be in our Articles, which have been solemnly confirmed by all the Authority in this Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal.

§ LII. Now the Design of these Papers, as I declared at the Beginning, being to perswade the Governors of our Church, if possible, to bring our otherwise excellent Reformation nearer to the Primitive Standard than it yet is, and to supply those Deficiencies which seem yet wanting to make her exactly conformable to the Times of the Council of *Nice*, (when there was but one Communion of the Catholick Church all the World over ; when, as (i) the Emperor *Constantine* observ'd, there was but one and the same Faith, Doctrine and Discipline in *Rome*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, in *Lybia* and all *Grecia*, in the *Asiatick* Dioceſe, and in *Pontus* and *Cilicia* : In which Council were present Bishops, not only from all these Places, but also from *Phœnicia*, *Arabia* and *Paleſtine*, and in ſhort from every Province of that prodigious Empire ; nay, (k) from *Persia* and *Scythia* also, large Countries beyond the Bounds of the Empire ; all which Bishops meeting from ſo many diſtant Countries, held at that Time the ſame Faith and the ſame Communion, (and no Faith or Communion ſince ſet up, has ever extended ſo far :) And the moſt likely Way to bring this to paſs, being to enquire into all thoſe Usages which were then known to be observ'd in the Church agreeably to Scripture, and to reſtore ſuch of them as we now want : I have firſt, in order thereto, conſider'd the Independency of the Church

(i) Euseb. de vit. Constantini. l. 3. c. 18.

(k) Euseb. de vit. Constantini. l. 3. c. 7.

upon the State, as to its pure Spiritual Powers; which I think I have sufficiently proved to have been at that Time the known uniform Doctrine of the whole Church: And it is also the plain Doctrine of the Church of *England* declared in her Articles. But though we are right as to the Doctrine, yet I know not how it seems generally to be misunderstood by the People, who having gotten a Notion, that *the King is Supreme Head of the Church*, being told so by too many of the Clergy from the Pulpit, fansie therefore that the King must have all Spiritual Power, or all the Power of the Church vested in him, and that our Bishops and Clergy derive all their Power to minister the Word and Sacraments from him. For which Reason I judged it necessary to be very particular on this Head, not to rectify any Defect which may seem to be in the Doctrine of our Church, which is clear and plain in this Point, but to rectify those Mistakes which the People, and I wish I could not also say, many of the Clergy likewise, have been led into, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church. All therefore I have aimed at in my Discourse on this Head is to rectify this Mistake, and to desire the Clergy to inform both themselves and the People of the true Nature of and Difference between Temporal and Spiritual Power: That the Temporal Power affects the Bodies, Lives and Estates, and the Spiritual Power only the Souls of the People: That the Temporal Power alone can judge what Religion shall be established by the Civil Laws: That the Civil Magistrate will judge who shall possess the Temporal Revenues annexed to the publick Churches or Edifices erected for publick Worship, and who shall be permitted to officiate in those Churches, and who not. But that such Temporal Establishment makes not a Religion true or faine: For if it did, then *Papery* would be the true Religion in *France* and *Spain*; *Mahometism* would be the true Religion in *Turkey* and in

Persia, and *Heathenism* would be so in *China* or *Japan*. And therefore though the Magistrates Power is irresistible by any Humane Force, when he extends it to all Religions, and to all Cases of Religion, and takes upon him to judge whether a Man deserves Fine or Imprisonment, Bonds or Death, even in a Spiritual Cause, or in a Spiritual Person ; yet his Determination in such Matters does not affect the State of Things so as to make that wrong which was right, or that right which was wrong. Thus when Queen *Mary* abolished the Reformation in this Realm and set up *Popery* in its stead, she thereby indeed gave the Popish Priests and Bishops the actual Possession of the Cathedrals and Parish-Churches, and all the Revenues belonging to them : But she could not thereby give them any Right to minister the Word and Sacraments to the People, they were as much bound to receive that Word and those Sacraments from the Bishops and Priests of the true reformed Church of *England* during her Reign, as they were in the Reign of her Brother King *Edward VI*, when those Bishops and Priests possessed the Cathedral and Parish-Churches. Neither when Queen *Elizabeth* deprived or dispossessed the Popish Bishops, and restored the Bishops and Priests of the reformed Church of *England* to the Possession of the Cathedral and Parish-Churches, and the Revenues annexed to them, did that give them any new Spiritual Power which they had not before ? it only enabled them to discharge their Duties to the People more comfortably. The Spiritual Relation betwixt them and their People was the same in the Reign of Queen *Mary* when they were ejected, that it was in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* when they were restored. It is true, in Queen *Mary's* Reign they were forced to fly into Foreign Parts, or hide themselves at home, and so could not actually attend their Flocks, as when they were protected by the State :

But

But this by no means dissolved the Relation betwixt them and their Flocks; and such of their Flocks as kept steady to them, and refused to join with the Schismatical Popish Priest, thereby testifying their firm Adherence to the Rightful Réformed Communion, though they could not actually partake of the Word and Sacraments, by reason of the Violence and Force both Pastors and People then lay under, yet were, no doubt, accepted by God as if they had received them : (l) even as those seven thousand in *Israel* were accepted by God, because they had not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, although they could not go to Worship at *Jerusalem*, there to offer their Sacrifices, which answer'd to our Sacraments ; or receive that Blessing (m) which God had given his Priests Commandment to pronounce unto his People, and upon the Pronunciation of which, by his Priests, he promised his Blessing. Sacraments are positive Institutions appointed by God as Means of our Salvation ; but then they are to be received duly and regularly, not Schismatically : And therefore we had better not receive them at all than irregularly and in Schism ; and if God puts us into such Circumstances that we can receive them no otherwise than in Schism, it shall not be imputed as a Crime if we receive them not ; but to receive in Schism is such a Crime as makes all our good Actions nothing worth. Thus we find, that, when God permitted any of his chosen People, the *Jews*, to be led Captive, or placed in any such Circumstances as hindred them from going to Worship at *Jerusalem*, he nevertheless vouchsafed them his particular Grace and Favour, as he did to *Daniel* and his three Friends, and other good Men in the *Babylonish* Captivity : But when Men, because they could

(l) 1 King. xix. 18.

(m) Num. vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

not go to Jerusalem and receive a Blessing from the regular Priests of the House of Aaron, would carry their Offerings to *Dan* or *Bethel*, that they might receive a Blessing from *Jeroboam's* Priests ; God was so far from accepting them as he did the Children of the Captivity, who were content to wait with Patience for their Restoration to the true Worship, and would rather omit those positive Institutions than practice them irregularly, that this irregular, Schismatical Worship provoked God to cast them out of his Sight. (n) Now all these Things happened unto them for Examples ; And they are written for our Admonition : That we may learn to avoid Schismatical Communion, and to know, that when God has put us into such Circumstances as we cannot worship him publickly according to his Will, nor assemble together under the Conduct of his Regular and Rightful Priests, he will accept us rather if we live without Publick Worship, than if we assemble for such Worship in an irregular Schismatical Way. In such Cases we must do the best we can, we must assemble as long and as often as we can under our regular Priests, and when we are entirely barred even from that, we must be content to wait with Patience till God shall see fit to restore us to the Exercise of our Worship in the true Communion, even as the Jews waited seventy Years in their Captivity ; during which Time God accepted their private Worship and vouchsafed his Gifts and Graces to them, not imputing the Want of Publick Worship to them as a Crime : For they wanted it only because it was then impossible to have it in God's Way. And this was plainly the Case of the reformed Church of *England* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. The Ministers of the Reformed

(n) : *Cer.* x. 11.

Church of *England* assembled privately where they could, and used their own Liturgy which was compiled in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* and where they could not do that, they contented themselves with their own private Prayers, till it pleased God to restore to them the publick Exercise of their Religion. But those who complied in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and because they could not have the Word and Sacra- ments from the Rightful Reformed Bishops and Priests of the Church of *England*, chose rather, than go without them, to receive them from the Popish, Heretical, Schismatical Priests then possessed of the Churches, cannot be justified for so doing. For it was not the two contrary Laws of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, by which the Popish and the Re- formed Bishops were, in their Turns, set up and put down, that made the one Right and the other Wrong, but it was their being of the Right or Wrong Com- munion that laid an Obligation on the Consciences of the People to adhere to them or not. Though our Kings, with their Parliaments, have it in their actual Power to dispose of Lives and Estates, and all Temporalities as they please, and upon what Occasions, or in what Causes they please, whether Tem- poral or Spiritual, and are accountable to God only for their Actions ; yet they cannot alter the Nature of Things, and make that Right which is Wrong, or Wrong which is Right. They can (though it would be the highest Wickedness if they should) make a Law to abolish *Christianity* and set up *Mahometism*, if they think fit ; for they have no Superior on Earth to forbid the making such a Law ; they can, as Queen *Mary* and her Parliament did, abolish the Reformed Church of *England* and establish *Papery*, but such Acts will not make *Mahometism* or *Papery* the true Religion. A Popish Bishop or Priest, though, by virtue of such an Act, he may get the Revenues of

of a Church, and the Edifice or Church itself into his Possession, yet will have no Right to the Spiritual Obedience of the People, nor can they lawfully receive the Word and Sacraments at his Hands. The Church was instituted by Christ, and was settled by him and his Apostles without the Leave of the Civil Magistrate, or asking any Licence from him. It continued 300 Years to exercise its Spiritual Power and Authority even in Opposition to him, and notwithstanding all his Edicts against it. It was so long, as is allowed on all Hands, independent upon him, and was constituted to be so by *Christ* himself, and I have never read that he has, in any Age since, declared that it ought to be dependent, and I am sure a less Authority than his cannot make it so. He is sole Head of the Church, and sent his Apostles and their Successors as the Father sent him, thereby plainly committing or delegating his Power to rule and govern the Church to them as his Deputies. Hence the Spiritual Power of Bishops and Priests is plainly derived. And when it can be shewed, that *Christ* has, in this or any Manner, delegated a like Power to Princes, I shall then readily acknowledge that they have a Spiritual Power also ; but till I see such a Proof, I must think that those, to whom *Christ* committed that Power at first independent on all the Princes of the World, must have it still independent upon them also.

§ LIII. Neither are the Clergy to be accused of Pride and Ambition for claiming such an Independent Power ; for if their Commission is from *Christ* independent on the Civil Magistrate, as I conceive I have proved it to be, then is it not Pride or Ambition, but a Duty in them to maintain and assert it to be so : For every Commission is a Trust, and therefore not to assert and maintain it when it is questioned, is to betray a Trust. Whoever gives an Office

Office to any Man, commits to his Trust all Matters appertaining to that Office : And he that undertakes the Office obliges himself to discharge the Trust. But if his Commission be questioned, he cannot discharge his Trust without asserting and maintaining his Commission ; and if he does not do it, he betrays and renounces the Authority of him from whom he received it. Whenever therefore the Bishops and Pastors of the Church of Christ find that Commission they have received from Christ to be called in Question, whenever they find their Authority to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments, as the Ministers of Christ, to be denied, when Bishops legally set over a Flock, according to the Institution of Jesus Christ, are forbidden to take any further Care of that Flock ; and others pretend a better Right to it than themselves : It is not Pride and Ambition in them to insist upon their Right, and to declare, that having received their Authority from Christ, they cannot be divested of it but according to his Laws; and those Rules he left with his Church for that Purpose; and not to insist upon their Right in such a Case is to betray their Trust ; and it is not barely to give up their own Authority, but the Authority of Christ, when any other Power than his or one derived from him shall pretend to vacate his Commission. This was S. Paul's Case, when his Apostleship and Right over the Church of Corinth was questioned; he thought it then necessary to assert his Authority and maintain his Right, as I have largely shewed ; and (o) to let them know, that, though he was not one of the Twelve which our Lord chose in his Life-time here on Earth, yet he was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles. And this he did and said by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, (p) the Author of all Scripture.

(o) 2 Cor. xi. 5. (p) 2 Tim. iii. 16. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

The Holy-Ghost therefore having authorized and obliged us to maintain and assert the Authority of our Commission, and not to yield it up whenever it is questioned or denied, it is no Pride and Ambition in us to do so, but our Duty ; and if we do not do it we have just Reason to fear the Vengeance of God for cowardly betraying that Trust he has committed to us. And if Men will nevertheless call us proud and ambitious on this Account, that Accusation is no other than a malicious Calumny and Reproach, such as the faithful Servants of *Christ*, and especially his Ministers, must be content to bear ; but they must not therefore, for fear of such Slanderous Accusations, tamely give up their Trust and desert their Flocks, because they may be called Names for challenging a Right over them as derived from *Christ* ; whereas the Scripture plainly teaches us, that when a Flock has been regularly committed to any Persons by Apostolical or Episcopal Hands, it is not Man, but God (q) *the Holy Ghost that makes them Overseers of that Flock.* For these Elders of *Ephesus*, to whom S. Paul said these Words, were not immediately called by *Christ* to that Office as the Twelve Apostles were, or by any immediate Call by a Voice from Heaven, as S. Paul himself, or by any other miraculous Means, but had been only appointed to that Office by S. Paul, or some other of the Apostles, (r) whose Practice it was to *ordain Elders in every Church.* And yet S. Paul scruples not to say, that it was the *Holy-Ghost which had made them Overseers of the Flock.* Because the *Holy Ghost* had directed the Apostles to ordain Elders and Presbyters in that Manner : And therefore the appointing Men to that Office by an Apostle or Bishop being not an humane Institution taken up by the Apostles upon meer pru-

(q) *Act. xx. 28.*(r) *Act. xiv. 23.*

dential Reasons, but by Divine Directions and Authority, the Office and Commission is truly said to be from the Holy-Ghost, though conferred by the Ministry of Men. Consequently it is no Pride or Ambition to say, That the Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, and their Right to feed such Flocks, as by Apostolical or Episcopal Hands are committed to them, is derived from God, and therefore not to be taken from them in any other Way than such as he has authorized in his Holy Word. If Pride and Ambition is to be charged upon any Clergy, it is most justly chargeable upon those who affect to get into the highest Stations of the Church by flattering the Civil Powers, and endeavouring to make them and the World believe, that all Power, Spiritual as well as Temporal, is derived only from them, that so by their Help and Assistance they may at least get the Temporal Possessions and Honours which, by the Bounty of Pious and Religious Princes have been settled on the Church. The Office of a Bishop or Priest, though it carry a Divine Authority with it, is an Office of Labour; and therefore S. Paul says, (s) *He that desireth the Office of a Bishop, desireth a good Work.* He then that desireth the Work, is not according to S. Paul's Testimony, proud and ambitious. But he, that by indirect Means, such as giving up to Temporal Princes, all that Power which Christ vested in his Apostles and their Succellors the Bishops, seeks to advance himself, cannot be excused from Pride and Ambition.

(s) *1 Tim.* iii. 1.

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